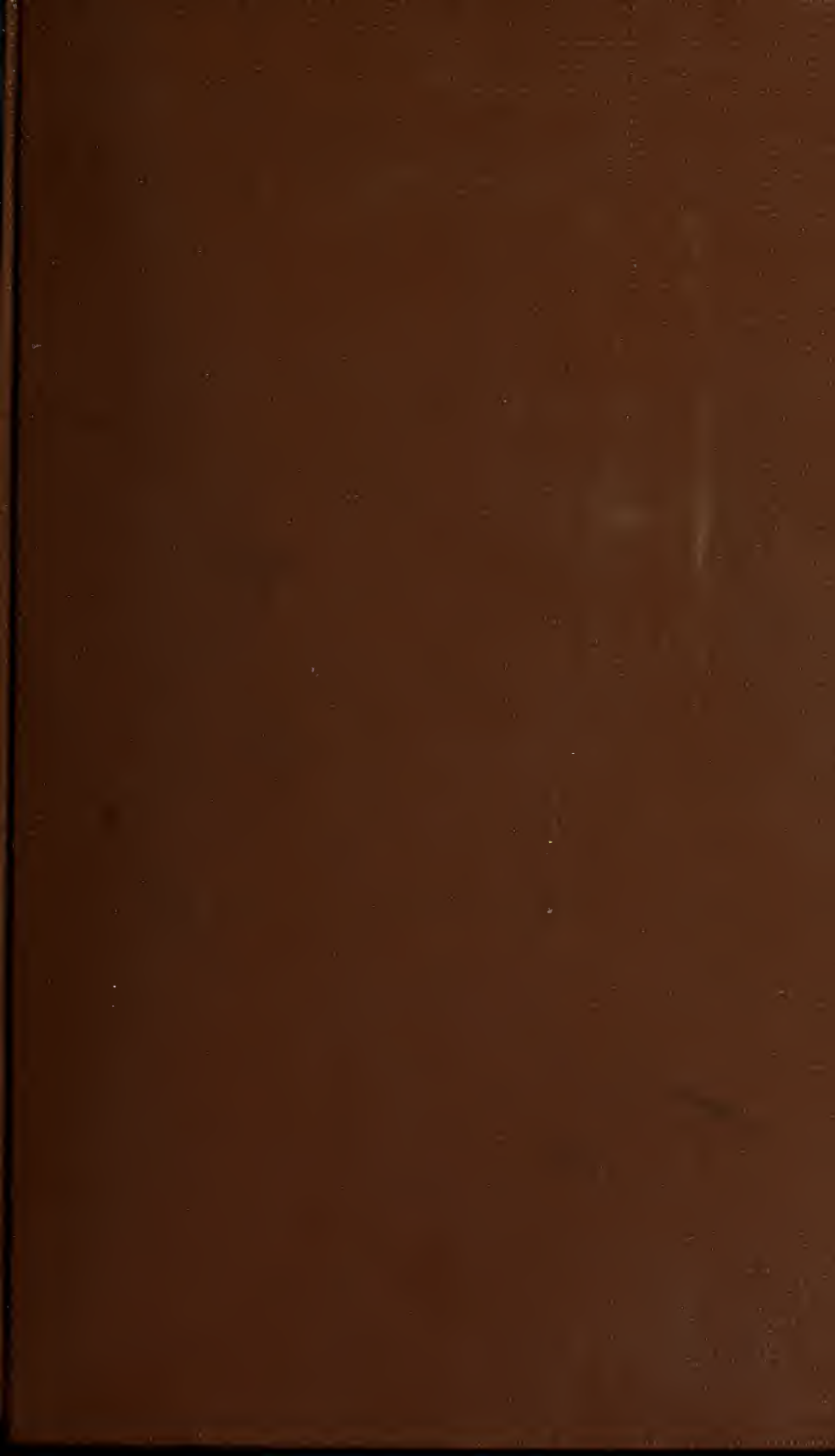








A PLAIN AND RATIONAL

ACCOUNT

OF

THE CATHOLIC FAITH,

BY THE

REV. ROBERT MANNING.

THE

THE CATHOLIC

BY

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A PLAIN AND
RATIONAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
CATHOLIC FAITH:
WITH A
PREFACE AND APPENDIX,
IN VINDICATION OF
CATHOLIC DOCTRINES,
FROM OLD CALUMNIES.

REVIVED & COLLECTED IN A SCURRILOUS LIBEL

ENTITLED,

A PROTESTANT'S RESOLUTION, &c. 49

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

The Reformed Churches proved destitute of a Lawful Ministry.

BY THE

REV. R. MANNING,

AUTHOR OF THE SHORTEST WAY TO END DISPUTES ABOUT RELIGION,
AND ENGLAND'S CONVERSION & REFORMATION COMPARED, ETC.

*Sanctify the Lord Christ in your Heart, being always ready to
satisfy every one that asketh you a Reason of that Hope which
is in you. 1 Pet. Chap. III. ver. 15.*

Waterford:

PUBLISHED BY SYLVESTER TYRRELL, BOOKSELLER, 81, QUAY.

MDCCCLXI.



BX1780
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Waterford:—Printed by W. Kelly.

TO THE
RIGHT REV. NICHOLAS FORAN, D. D.

CATHOLIC BISHOP OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

My Lord,

I beg leave most respectfully to dedicate to your Lordship, this reprint of the REV. ROBERT MANNING's justly celebrated work, deeming it an extremely useful publication at the present era, when so many of our truth-seeking dissenting brethren evince a laudable desire to become acquainted with the real doctrines of our Holy Religion; despite the virulent invectives and oft' refuted calumnies of the inveterate and self-interested defamers of the ancient faith. My sole ambition in undertaking this re-publication of so useful a work, was to place at the disposal of the Seekers after truth, and of the humbler classes, a Work, combining information of the most important nature, and in a form, the cheapness of which, might render it attainable by all who would rend asunder the web of sophistry with which the vilifiers of the ancient faith have and still endeavour to divide the seamless garment. If my endeavours meet with your Lordship's kind patronage and approbation, I shall consider myself amply recompensed for my exertions, to awaken in the mind of every Catholic, the memory of the pious author, who deserves to be enshrined in grateful remembrance; ranking, as he merits so highly, amid the polemical writers of his day, and having contributed so much to refute error by his numerous and estimable writings, exhibiting the truth by plain, yet irrefragable argument: and now, my Lord, hoping for your countenancing this effort on my part,

I remain with the most profound respect,

Your Lordship's

Most devoted and humble Servant,

SYLVESTER TYRRELL.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. II.

BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY J. B. ALLEN, 1825.

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ADDRESS

TO THE MOST REV. AND RIGHT REV.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND CLERGY

OF IRELAND.

IN offering for sale a new and cheap edition of the Rev. Robert Manning's plain and rational account of the Catholic faith, that should be possessed by every Catholic that has the means of purchasing a copy; to defend the faith that was in them from the insulters of their religion and their country. I need not mention the names of the champions of the Catholic church, whose works stand unanswered: the late ever to be lamented Dr. Doyle, his grace the most Rev. Dr. M'Hale, archbishop of Tuam, Rev. Thomas Maguire, P. P. of Ballinamore, the Rev. John Sinnott, president of St. Peter's college, Wexford, and that opposer of prosyliters the Rev. Mr. Darcey of Ballyhale, Co. Kilkenny. Thank God, the days of persecution are past, and an era of toleration has at length commenced! the pious and learned author is entitled to rank high amongst these distinguished champions of the Catholic faith. The name of Manning will be long enshrined in the grateful memory of every Catholic. His various works of controversy are held in the highest estimation amongst all who wish to contend earnestly for the faith that was preached by the apostles, and the many martyrs

who laid down their lives for the faith that was in them.

I hope my having reprinted this valuable work, for the benefit of its readers, and the enlightenment of the enemies of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic church. If this work may come to the hands of the prelates and clergy, they will recommend it to the perusal of their subjects : as the learned author of the Letters of Hierophilos said, that “the Catholic prelates and clergy were burning with charity and holy zeal for the education of the poor of Ireland ; not to keep education from them, but, as good shepherds, to watch the fold where their lambs and sheep are, from the wolves, in sheep’s clothing, going about by bribes and other means, seeking to plunder the poor Catholic of his faith, which is dearer to him than life.”

I remain

With humility and respect,

Your Lordships’

Humble Servant,

SYLVESTER TYRRELL.

P R E F A C E.

If the doctrine and morals of the first Christians had been such as they were continually represented by their adversaries then in power, no monster had ever been so frightful as the Christian religion. And if the faith and morals of Catholics had really those deformities, under which they are but too often painted even from the pulpit, and in those very books which are put into the hands of the people, as necessary preservatives against Popery, I freely own it were better to be of no religion at all, than to be a Papist.

What then was commonly said and thought of the first and best Christians that ever were in the world? The most distinguishing, part of their character was, that they utterly denied the Godhead, as is witnessed by St. Justin, *Apol. 1. p. 56.* Some accused them of giving divine worship to the cross, as we find it recorded in Minutius Felix and Tertullian. Others said they gave it to the Sun, to an ass's head, and other things not fit to be named.

Next, they were charged with not having men of sense or learning amongst them, That they kept the common people in awe with superstitious fears. That their pretended miracles were only tricks of art, or magical enchantments. That they were traitors to the government, and guilty of all the evils that happened to the state. That in their most secret meetings they feasted on the flesh of murdered infants, made delicious sippers in their warm and innocent blood, and closed at length the barbarous solemnity with all sorts of lewd and incestuous embraces. In a word, that they were professed enemies to honour and conscience, to God and man, All these things are attested by Origen, Tertullian, St. Justin, &c. and shew how true this saying of Tertullian is, viz, That truth and the hatred of it, began together.

This brief and faithful account of the general hatred of the Christian religion, in its very infancy, may serve for a key to many useful discoveries. As, 1st, that a formed design of misrepresentation and slander is a sure mark that the cause, in favour of which they are employed, is a very bad one. 2dly, that those, whose faith and morals lie under the injustice of public censure, may comfort themselves with this reflection, that nothing was ever more contemptible than religion, when in its greatest purity. 3dly, that what our blessed Redeemer said to his followers, *Luke xxi. 17.* "You shall be hated by all men for my sake," was not confined to the primitive times. For truth always was, and always will be, odious to insincere and wordly spirits; and the present age is so over-stocked with these unhappy dispositions, that if they had been as frequent in the primitive times, few nations, perhaps, would ever have embraced the Christian faith. 4thly, that the same methods are still pursued against the truths of the gospel, as were at first employed against the gospel itself. My meaning is, that the character of Catholics is as unfairly represented now, as that of the Christians was in the primitive ages.

I might appeal for the truth of this to an infinite number of Protestant books and sermons, filled with such false characters, both of our faith and morals, as cannot but create the strongest prejudices against us. But I have luckily met with a two-penny libel, which has saved me the trouble of transcribing volumes. It is entitled, *a Protestant's resolution, shewing his reasons why he will not be a Papist, &c.* This piece not only contains a summary of the most usual objections against, or rather misrepresentations of, our doctrine; but all the old scandalous calumnies, that malice has ever invented against us, are epitomized in it. So that as it gives us the very marrow and quintessence of many volumes of misrepresentation and slander, I flatter myself that the following sheets, though they only attack *this* malicious libel by name, will be a sufficient answer to books of a much larger size.

Now, though the fourth edition of the piece I speak of appeared several years ago, I became not acquainted with it, otherwise than by the bad character that was given me of it, 'till about the middle

of August, Anno. 1719. But unless I had trusted to my own eyes rather than common fame, I should have thought it impossible, that a person, who not only professes himself a Christian, but sets up for a guide and teacher of Christians, should be capable of writing such an unchristian piece.

Whoever is the author of it (for I know nothing of him but his exorbitant hatred to Papists) I shall make bold to call him the *Catechist* as often as I have occasion to name him : because he has delivered his reasons against the twenty-four pretended errors of Popery in the method of a catechism : that is, by way of short questions and answers : which was doubtless done, to fit them for the weak capacity not only of boys and girls, in order to imbue them with an early hatred towards us, but of the populace in general, who greedily swallow down any thing against Papists, though it be ever so absurd, or improbable in itself.

But dare I then presume to blame him for writing against us?—By no means. But I hope it is no presumption to expect a Protestant, though he writes against Papists, should guide his pen by the common rules of charity and justice. I likewise hope it is no presumption to expect that a writer, though he be a Protestant, should remember that he is also a Christian ; this, I think, is but reasonable. And therefore if the *Catechist* had done no more than fairly to propose his reasons against the pretended errors of Popery, or if he had only laboured to instruct or settle Protestants in their religion by sober reasoning, all this had been fair and honourable.—Those of his own communion would have applauded his zeal, and others of a different persuasion would have valued him as an upright well-meaning man, who sought not to ruin the persons of his adversaries, but only to convince their judgments. For no man can be justly blamed for standing up in defence of a cause, which, upon rational motives, he judges to have truth and justice on its side. But as the *Catechist* has managed the cause of religion, he is neither justifiable before God nor man : nor do I wrong him in the least in saying, that he appears rather as the captain of a furious mob, breathing nothing but massacre and plunder, than a sober advocate for the Christian faith.

I shall therefore wave the ordinary complaints on account of unfair dealings of a less mischievous nature, such as are the misrepresentation of our doctrine to make it appear absurd and ridiculous. For we are so accustomed to this sort of treatment, that we expect nothing else from any man that draws his pen against us; and we are the less affected with it, because the usual consequences of it seldom go beyond contempt, which is but a small evil comparatively to that of hatred, and was therefore too little to satisfy the fiery zeal of our Catechist. For he was not content to employ his best endeavours, as many other Protestants have done before him, to make us appear ridiculous in our faith, but he labours to render us the most hateful creatures upon earth, by painting our morals and practice in the very blackest colours.

What! was he conscious to himself that his reasons against the twenty-four pretended errors of Popery, would be of no force to hinder Protestants from turning Papists, unless reviling, forgery, and slander, were called in to his assistance? I am sure it can be no rash judgment to think so, or something full as bad, if we but observe that his Catechism is fully ended, *p.* 27. And he tells us in the title page, that the reasons it contains are digested into so plain a method of questions and answers, that any ordinary capacity may be able to defend the Protestant religion against the most cunning Jesuit or Popish priest. And why then did he did not lay down his pen when he had done our business so effectually for us, that there was no further danger of any one's being seduced even by the most cunning Jesuit, or Popish Priest? What necessity was there, after that, of adding twenty pages more, by way of an appendix, chiefly to defame and traduce our persons? Certainly, either it was because he had a real mistrust of the solidity of his reasons against our doctrine. and thought they would do but little execution without the help of slander, which does no great honour to the Protestant cause: or what is worse for himself, he was moved to it out of pure malice to do us mischief merely for mischief-sake: since, if he expressed his thoughts sincerely in his title page, his end was fully answered without it.

In effect, the twenty additional pages in his Catechism contain

principally, a most virulent invective, filled with as much gall, and studied malice, as can be crowded into so small a compass. And, I must needs say, the character he there gives of us is so very black, that were we really the hideous monsters, he has described us, we should undoubtedly deserve the utmost hatred and execration of all mankind. So that considering with what industry his Catechism has been spread among the common people, as I have lately been informed, I can attribute it to nothing else but a special providence on the one hand, and the more moderate temper of the generality of English Protestants on the other, that we are not torn in pieces by the mob, or have not stones thrown at us as we walk the streets. I know not whether this was the *Christian* design of our *charitable* Catechist; God only knows the heart, and I will not presume to judge of it. However, to shew that I am not conscious of having overstrained the matter, I shall set down a part of his own words, and then the reader may judge of him as he pleases.

1. He tells us, that Protestants being adversaries to the church of Rome, her Popish sons owe them nothing but ruin and destruction, and the vilest means they can use for that end are meritorious and glorious, *pages 27, 28.*

2. That they make perjury in this kind not only blameless, but necessary; and that breach of oaths is no less with them than a virtue or a necessary duty in many cases, *p. 28.*

3. That by the sacred decrees of their councils they must be forsworn, if they will not be excommunicated. And that one, who has taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, sins mortally; not if he takes these oaths (for their priests may dispense with) but if he keeps them. Whence he concludes, that no Papist can possibly give any security which may be trusted, that Protestants shall enjoy any thing, which is in their power to deprive them of, *pages 28, and 29.*

4. That their religion has laid such strong bonds upon them to break all bonds that may favour Protestants that it leaves no hopes of salvation to them, who will not at their death take the greatest

intrath upon their salvation, if the Catholic cause may be helped by it, *p.* 29.

5. That the very principles of their religion bind them to observe no faith, or trust or common honesty with those, whom they account heretics, *p.* 30.

6. That they amongst Papists, who are executed for real treasons and murders, deny it at their deaths (being over-awed by their priests,) *Ibid.*

7. That hundreds of Irish Papists are executed in the kingdom of Ireland every year for murders, thefts, &c. yet, when they come to die, take it upon their salvation, that they are as innocent of the fact they die for as the child unborn, *p.* 31.

8. That for shedding of blood the Papal Rome exceeds heathen Rome, *p.* 34.

For proof of this last calumny the Catechist relates some facts of which I shall take notice in my Appendix. Only the last of them being a valuable piece shall be here set down at its full length in his own words.

“ Add to this (says he) their bloody traitorous design against king Charles II, the government, and the Protestant religion. A conspiracy, which, had it taken effect, might have turned England into an aceldama, a field of blood, or shambles of Popish butchers. These things considered, I hope no man will be so mad as to kiss the Pope’s toe until his nails be pared; so as he will not scratch and make the blood run about the mouth of Christendom, *p.* 35.”

I cannot here forbear remarking, how good an inclination the poor gentleman has to be witty, even at the expense of his neighbour’s reputation. Yet methinks so merry a jest was brought in somewhat unseasonably in so tragical a relation. But let that be as it will, the dismal story he here tells us must either be the Rye-house plot (the history whereof is fully related by the late bishop of Rochester,) or the design of seizing the king’s person at Oxford, which was prevented by the unexpected dissolution of the par-

liament : or, lastly, that which is commonly known by the name of Oates's plot. For I never read of any other in the reign of king Charles II. If he means either of the two former he has reason to say, that had it taken effect it might have turned England into an aceldama, a field of blood or shambles, not of Popish but Protestant butchers (if I may be allowed to repeat after him that unmannerly expression ;) for, praise be to God, there was not a single Papist concerned in either of these two conspiracies ?

But if he means Oates's plot (as I presume he does, for I find he was somewhat ashamed to speak out) the perjury and villainy of that wicked contriver of it, is so well known, and has been so fully proved by Protestant as well as Catholic writers, and even acknowledged by the supreme tribunal of the nation, that I need not give myself the trouble to vindicate the honour of those innocent persons, that fell a sacrifice to it. I wish the Catechist could as easily purge himself from the guilt of a most malicious slander, in reviving the charge of that sham plot against us. And I presume he chiefly points at those innocent victims of popular fury, and others that have been under the like circumstances, when he tells us we make no scruple to die with perjury in our mouths. Which calumny he repeats, page 38, where he writes thus ;

“ No sort of heretics (not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan : no not those of Calicut who adore the devil) did ever maintain, by the grounds of religion, that it is lawful, or rather meritorious, (as Papist call it) to murder princes or people for the quarrel of religion, And although particular men of all professions have been some thieves, some murderers, some traitors, yet ever when they came to their end, and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession. But these persons cleave to it at their deaths as zealously, as if all they had been doing were by the immediate guidance of the blessed spirit. Such is their blasphemy !” *Pages 38, 39.*

This may be called blasphemy indeed. But it is a most wicked calumny to charge us with the guilt of it : and nothing but the father of lies could instigate the Catechist to defame us in so unchristian a manner. However he has not yet done with us, but

he tells his reader. *page 42*, "that it is observable, that the most ignorant or careless, or the most wicked and debauched, make up the greatest part of our proselytes. Nor is it strange, since false principles and bad lives mutually beget each other." If he had said that many of those, who led wicked and debauched lives before they turned Papists, have been entirely reformed after their coming over to us, he would have spoken the naked truth; for there are innumerable examples of it: whereas I challenge him to name me out one single person in the kingdom of Great Britain, who upon turning Protestant, after he had been brought up a Papist, ever mended his life; that is, became a soberer, a juster, and honester man by it than he was before. Nay, I may safely say, the very reverse of it is generally remarked; and it is a strong proof, that they change for interest and libertinism, and not for conscience sake.

Lastly he tells us, "That the whole Romish hierarchy is so far from being suited within the order of the gospel, that the main design of their popes, cardinals, jesuits, friars, &c. is but to advance themselves above all that is good, and to gratify their base lusts," *p. 44*. Was there any thing so foul and scurrilous! However I am verily persuaded that if the Catechist were but for one month in any religious order, or would but keep one lent among them, he would soon change his mind, and be convinced by experience, that the confinement of a narrow cell, a hard bed to lie on, spare diet, watching, praying, fasting, and many other mortifications both of the will and body, are not in the least proper methods to gratify the lusts of the flesh.

But let any one judge, whether this worthy gentleman who pretends to so much zeal for religion, and talks of nothing but the blessed spirit, holiness, and tender conscience in his three last pages, could aim at any thing less, than, by the dint of downright slander, to expose us to the hatred and fury of a merciless populace on the first occasion that shall present itself? We are here represented by him as a knot of the most profligate villians upon earth: nay, worse than Turks, Jews, Pagans, or those who adore the devil. We are described as men taught by the principles of

their religion to observe neither truth, faith, nor common honesty with Protestants, As men thirsting after blood, making a practice of dieing with lies in their mouths, dispensing with unlawful oaths, looking upon perjury and breach of oaths as virtues, and necessary duties in many cases; and finally seeking nothing so much as the destruction of Protestants, by all the foulest means the devil can suggest,

Good God! What a character is this! Nay a character of Christians drawn by the pen of a Christian! Is not this cloathing us, as Heathens did the primitive Christians, in bear skins, to set dogs at us to tear us in pieces! For my part, I praise God I have been a Papist these many years. I have also gone through all my studies under Popish masters, and have, chiefly, lived and conversed amongst Papists the rest of my life: so that it is morally impossible I should be ignorant either of their principles or practice. Yet I declare solemnly, and I declare it without any equivocation or mental reservation, to which I am a hearty enemy, that I have never in my whole life, heard any of the above-mentioned execrable maxims, which the Catechist lays so boldly to our charge, taught by any of those, under whom I have had my education.—On the contrary, I have always been taught the following Christian rules,

1. That we are bound to do by others, as we would be done by.
2. That it is unlawful to do evil, that good may come of it.
3. That perjury in all cases whatsoever is a most damnable sin.
4. That the taking of unlawful oaths cannot be dispensed with by any power upon earth.
5. That no power upon earth can discharge us of any duty, to which we are bound by the law of God or nature.
6. That faith, justice, truth, and honesty, are duties, which by the law of God and nature, we owe to all mankind. And,
7. That we are bound to pay allegiance to our lawful sovereigns, et their religion be what it will.

Preface.

These are the moral principles I have always been taught : and I think I am not ignorant of the principles of my own religion. But, alas ! I forget, I am a Papist ! and so the Catechist will tell me ! I may lie and swear by dispensation ; which I own is a clever way to stop my mouth. However I make bold to assure him, that if he were as free from slander, as I am from the sin of perjury and lying, he would have an easier account to make before the great tribunal, than he will most certainly experience, unless he retracts the falsehoods he has published against us. For slander is a most grievous sin against justice, as well as charity ; and will certainly damn those, who die with the guilt of it unrepented.

But let us reason a little calmly upon the matter. Perhaps the Catechist has never been conversant with any Roman Catholics either at home or abroad. Let him then first inquire of numberless English Protestants, who in the late wars have served either in Spain or Flanders, where it was their lot to be made prisoners of war ? Let him, I say, enquire of them what sort of treatment they found amongst the French or Spanish Papists ? And whether their sick and wounded were not carefully looked after, as if they had been in their own hospitals ? Nay, whether the religious houses, both of men and women, had not the same bowels of compassion for them, and were not as forward to relieve their wants, as if they had been their Catholic brethren ? It is notoriously known they were, and there are many Protestants yet alive ready to attest it. And does this look like thirsting after the blood of Protestants, or seeking their destruction by all means possible ? Yet no man can doubt but these Papists acted according to the principles of their religion. Nor do Turks treat Christians in this manner, though the Catechist will needs have us to be worse than Turks.

Let him next take a view of Holland, where there is a mixed society of Protestants and Catholics : which latter are very numerous in all the great towns of trade. Here he will find great numbers of Roman Catholics, as well officers, as common soldiers, employed in Protestant armies, and serving their Protestant masters with as much fidelity and zeal as the best Protestants in Europe. Nay, the prince of Orange had so great an opinion of his Dutch

Catholic troops, and reposed so great a trust in their loyalty, that he brought several thousands over with him into England, to fight against a Popish prince then on the throne ; and unless the Dutch Popish troops had been more faithful to their Protestant prince, than the English Protestant troops were to their Popish king, the revolution had never happened.

Whence I infer, that the Catechist has wronged us most inhumanly in asserting, that Protestants being adversaries of the Church of Rome, her sons owe them nothing but ruin and destruction. That the vilest means they can use for that end are meritorious and glorious. That perjury is no less with us than a virtue, or necessary duty : and that our priests can dispense with any oaths. For the Dutch Catholic troops, I have spoken of, knew nothing of any such dispensing power, even when they came to fight for Protestants against a Popish prince. On the contrary, they knew the principles of their religion obliged them to be faithful to their lawful masters, though of a different religion ; and therefore acted accordingly. But did the English Protestant troops follow their example ? Alas ! how partial are men in seeing motes in their neighbours' eyes, yet cannot see beams in their own.

But since the Catechist does likewise assert, that the principles of our religion bind us to observe no truth, or frith, or common honesty with Protestants, which certainly is the foulest character that can be given of any society of men. I shall once more send him abroad for his better information ; I mean, to the countries of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, where Catholics and Protestants live united together in the common bonds of commerce and civil society. For it was never said, but that the Protestants, in those countries, find the same faith, truth, and honesty from the Roman Catholics they deal with, as from those of their own communion. Which would be morally impossible, if the very principles of their religion taught them the contrary. Nay, the kingdom of Great Britain is actually engaged in a strict alliance with several Popish princes. And will the Catechist have the boldness to tell the ministry, that they are confederated with a pack of perfidious rascals, who are bound by the principles of their religion to ob-

serve neither faith, truth, nor common honesty with Protestants? If he does, I know not what reward he may come to meet with.

But perhaps the English Catholics alone are the monsters the Catechist has described. Yet I am very sure their principles are the same with those of foreign Papists. And I dare appeal to the judgment of any sober Protestant in England, who is but thoroughly acquainted with their persons and practice, whether they deserve the infamous character of men destitute of faith, truth, and common honesty.

We have some of most states and professions amongst us; and these are as well known by Protestants, as by those of their own communion. The Catholic gentlemen, who live at their seats, in the country, are generally as remarkable for sobriety and virtue, for justice in paying their debts, for hospitality to their neighbours and charity to all without distinction of Protestant or Papist, as any of their Protestant neighbours; nay, I know a Catholic family in the country, which alone relieves more Protestant poor, than most of the Protestant families in the neighbourhood joined together. And is this acting like persons, who, by their principles, are bound to observe neither faith, truth, nor common honesty with Protestants?

Those amongst us, who live by their profession, such as lawyers, doctors, chirurgeons, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, have generally as good a character, and are reputed, by Protestants themselves, as honest, conscientious, and upright in their dealings, as any whatsoever. Which surely is not acting like men destitute of faith, truth, and common honesty. Besides there are several Protestant servants in Catholic families, and several Catholic servants even in posts of the greatest trust in Protestant families. Also Catholics and Protestants frequently marry together. Let then the Catechist inquire how Protestant servants are treated by their Catholic masters, and how Catholic servants behave themselves in Protestant families. Let him also inquire whether Catholic women make not as discreet, as virtuous, and faithful wives to their Protestant husbands, or whether Catholic husbands treat not their Protestant wives with as

much honour, tenderness, and good manners, as Protestants themselves. For if he cannot inform himself of any remarkable irregularities in the conduct of Catholic servants, or masters, wives, or husbands, towards their respective Protestant masters, or servants, husbands, or wives, then I hope he will have some remorse of the scandalous calumny he has published of us, viz. That the very principles of our religion bind us to observe no faith, or truth, or common honesty with Protestants.

I know that they, who are personally acquainted with some Roman Catholics, and have a real value for them, yet continue under the general prejudices they have sucked in almost with their milk, are wont to answer, that if all Papists were like such and such a one, whom they know to be a very honest man, they should have nothing to say against them. It seems then that such Papists, as are personally known by Protestants, are very honest men. But those, whom they know nothing of, are all knaves, and void of common honesty. Perhaps this is the true reason why we are so black in the Catechist's eyes, and there may be room to pray to God to forgive him, because he knows not what he says.

I shall here resume, for a moment, the subject of perjury; a sin hateful both to God and man. Yet the Catechist, charges us positively with it, as a thing of which we are so far from making any scruple, that we may think it wholly blameless, nay, necessary in many cases. But it will be hard to determine, whether this accusation be more repugnant to truth or common sense, unless we are all supposed to be madmen. For it is notoriously known, that (excepting a few Protestant non-jurors) we are the only persons in Great Britain, that have suffered by refusing oaths; and have suffered grievously by it rather than incur the guilt of being perjured. Yet forsooth, our priests can dispense with perjury, if the Catechist is to be believed. Can any thing in nature be more absurd?

No man can be so great a stranger to the English constitution as not to know, that taking certain oaths qualifies a man in the eye of the law for any preferment, military or civil: as the army, the navy, the bench, the bar, the court, the parliament: in a word, for any place of honour, profit, or trust; so that if we had but con-

sciences large enough to swallow a few oaths, we might not only deliver ourselves in a trice from the innumerable vexations we are under, but enjoy all the advantages of free-born subjects, and be upon an equal footing with the best Protestants in the nation.— And why then do we refuse to do it, if our church can dispense with perjury? It is such an unintelligible riddle, that neither reason nor religion can account for it. Yet we are told by the Catechist, that our priests cannot only dispense with unlawful oaths, but that the very principles of our religion, leave no hope of salvation to them, who will not even at their deaths take the greatest untruth upon their salvation, if the Catholic cause may be helped by it, *page 29*. And would not the Catholic cause be helped (as he calls it) by our qualifying ourselves for places of profit and trust, which nothing but our abhorrence of perjury hinders us from doing? It is therefore a ridiculous calumny to say we have a dispensation for lying and swearing, when the very dread of incurring the guilt of it, is the principal occasion of our temporal ruin.

Well, if the Catechist be as little able to prove the errors in faith, as the immoralities he has laid to our charge, I dare boldly say, he has undertaken a defenceless cause. But this will be examined in the following sheets: where, I assure the reader, he will find neither scurrility nor slander, but a plain and modest vindication of the Catholic doctrine, from the twenty-four pretended errors, the Catechist has mustered up against us. That is, a plain exposition of the Catholic faith, stripped of the false glosses and colourings, wherewith it is usually so disguised by our adversaries, that it appears many times! wholly different from what really it is in itself. And this I take to be its best vindication: because truth needs no more than to be fairly shewed, and is his own best defence, when set in a true light.

CONTENTS.

	<i>Page.</i>
ART. I. Of Infallibility, ...	1
Art. II. Of the Popes supremacy, ...	6
Art. III. Of Obedience to the Pope and Allegiance to sove- reigns, ...	10
Art. IV. Whether the Pope be Antichrist, ...	11
Art. V. Sect. 1. Whether Protestants be guilty of heresy, ...	14
Sect. 2. The English reformation was made without the free consent of the clergy, ...	18
Art. VI. Sect. 1. Whether the church of Rome be the only true church, ...	24
Sect. 2. The Marks of the true church, ...	26
Sect. 3. Of Catholicity, ...	29
Art. VII. Of the invocation of saints, ...	32
Objections answered, ...	34
Art. VIII. Of Transubstantiation, ...	37
Sect. 2. Transubstantiation proved from scripture, ...	39
Sect. 3. Objections answered, ...	42
Art. IX. Of the sacrifice of the Mass, ...	44
Objections answered, ...	46
Art. X. Of communion in one kind, ...	47
Sect. 1. Communion in one kind does not defraud the laity of the sacred blood of Christ, ...	48
Sect. 2. Communion in one kind is not contrary to the institu- tion of Christ nor a violation of any divine precept, ...	50
Sect. 3. Objections from scripture answered, ...	52
Art. XI. Of Venial sin, ...	55
Art. XII. Of Purgatory, ...	56
Objections answered, ...	59
Art. XIII. Of believing the scriptures upon the sole authority of the church, ...	60
Art. XIV. Of apostolical traditions, ...	61
Art. XV. Of Images, ...	65
Sect. 2. Of Relics, ...	68
Sect. 3. Of blessing ourselves with the sign of the cross, ...	70
Sect. 4. Of the Use of holy water and other blessings, ...	ib.
Sect. 5. Of beads, spittle, nunneries, fish days, disciplines, and pilgrimages, ...	72
Art. XVI. Of the number of sacraments, ...	74
Art. XVII. Of reading the bible in the vulgar tongue, ...	75
Art. XVIII. Of prayers in an unknown tongue, ...	83
Art. XIX. Of Indulgences, ...	86

	<i>Page.</i>
Art. XX. Of Merits, ...	88
Art. XXI. Of works of supererogation, ...	92
Art. XXII. Of Justification, ...	ib.
Art. XXIII. Of Assurance, ...	94
Art. XXIV. Of Celibacy or the single life of priests, ...	95
The Catechist's objections answered, ...	98
The Catechist's concluding questions and answers briefly re- marked upon.	102

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX:

SECT. 1. Popery is not a traitorous religion, ...	106
Sect. 2. Of the loyalty of the English Roman Catholics du- ring the civil wars, ...	108
Sect. 3. King Charles II preserved by Roman Catholics after the defeat of his army at Worcester, ...	110
Sect. 4. The facts produced by the Catechist to prove Popery a traitorous religion are wholly impertinent, ...	116
Sect. 5. Of the gunpowder plot, ...	119
Sect. 6. Of the deposing power, ...	122
Sect. 7. Popery is not a bloody religion, ...	125
Sect. 8. Of the French and Irish massacre, ...	126
The conclusion.	131

CONTENTS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES PROVED DESTI- TUTE OF A LAWFUL MINISTRY:

ART. I. No lawful ministry without a lawful mission, ...	142
Art. II. The disagreement amongst Protestants concerning their mission, ...	148
Art. III. The first reformers had no extraordinary mission, ...	154
Art. IV. No extraordinary vocation without the gift of mir- acles, ...	164
Art. 5. The first reformers had no ordinary mission, ...	170
Art. VI. Protestants convicted from their own writings that they have no lawful mission from the church of Rome, ...	174
The Supplement of Art. III. p. 156.	180

A
PLAIN AND RATIONAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
CATHOLIC FAITH.

ARTICLE I.

OF INFALLIBILITY.

The first pretended error of the Papists is, in asserting the infallibility of the Pope and Church ; and that every man must submit his faith and conscience to them. Cat. p.6.

ANSWER.

The Catechist ought here to have distinguished between faith and opinion. For the Pope's infallibility is no article of faith, nor proposed by the church as a condition of communion. She teaches indeed, that the church established upon earth by Christ is infallible in all her decisions relating to matters of faith. But this is no error. On the contrary, it is a fundamental truth, grounded on the most express and positive promises of Christ. "1. That the gates of hell (the power of darkness and error) shall not prevail against his church," *Matt.* xvi. 18. which undoubtedly they would, if she were corrupted in her faith. "2. That the spirit of truth shall lead her pastors into all truth, *John* xvi. 13. and that "for ever," *John* xiv. 16. *Matt.* xxviii. 20. which therefore cannot be understood of the Apostles only, because they were not to remain here for ever.

It is upon these clear promises we believe the church of Christ to be infallible in her faith. And it follows from it, that in all controversies of religion, when the church has once pronounced sen-

tence, all safely may and ought to submit to her judgment. For surely he must have very little sense, who is afraid of being misled, when he follows the directions of an infallible guide.

To render this submission still more rational, the Holy Ghost has taken care to establish the church's authority in the plainest and strongest terms. First, our blessed Redeemer has already pronounced sentence on those who will not hear his church: but "if he will not hear the church, says he, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," *Matt. xviii. 17.* which if true in private disputes, is more evidently so in public controversies of a higher concern. In another place he thus settles the authority of scriptural guides. "He that hears you, hears me: and he that despises you, despises me," *Luke x. 16.*

Secondly, St. Paul positively affirms, "that the church of Christ is "the pillar and ground of truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15. which cannot be true if she be capable of seducing her children by false doctrines. Upon this principle in his epistle to the Hebrews he instructs them in the important lesson of submission to their spiritual guides: "obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, *Heb. xiii. 17.* And speaking of the same guides, "whose faith follow," says he, *Heb. v. 7.*

Again, writing to the Ephesians, he lets them know, "that God has not only placed in his church apostles, prophets, and evangelists, but also pastors and teachers, *Eph. iv. 11.* For what end? v. 12. "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the mystical body of Christ." How long? v. 13. "Till we all come to the unity of faith." For what end? v. 14. "That henceforth we be no more like children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the slight of cunning men lying in wait to deceive us." This is evidently spoken in reference to the people who are here taught, first, that the pastors of the church are appointed by God himself to be their guides in faith; secondly, that these guides shall continue in the church of Christ without ceasing to the end of the world, "till we all come to the unity of faith. Thirdly, that in all controversies of religion, it belongs to these guides to fix the wavering judgment of the people, against all the wicked arts of impostors and seducers, and that, by consequence, the faithful ought to rely on their directions with an entire confidence.

For unless they may be safely depended on, they would not fully answer the end of their institution; the people, especially the ignorant, upon every new and difficult debate, would be left in uncertainty, and might even suspect their guides to be their seducers: as the Jews, when deprived of such privileged teachers, were led into the grossest errors by the scribes and pharisees. But blessed for ever be the mercy of God, who has now established his covenant upon better promises, *Heb. viii. 6.* who has settled upon earth a visible Church, which is the pillar and ground of truth, against

which the gates of hell shall never prevail; and to which he has promised the Spirit of truth for ever. So that I leave any one to judge whether they who refuse to submit their private reason to the authority of this church, be not in danger of being self-convicted at the great tribunal of God?

Hence I infer, first, that whoever is a member of any church, that own herself to be fallible, and subject to errors in faith, is not a member of the church to which Christ has promised his Spirit for ever.

I infer, secondly, that he is not a member of the true church; because only that church which Christ established, and to which he made that promise, is the true one. And I leave it to him to consider, whether any man can hope to attain salvation, who lives wilfully out of the communion of that church, which Christ came to establish for the salvation of mankind and of which it is said, *Acts 47.* "the Lord added to the church daily, such as should be saved."

I infer, thirdly, that the church of Christ can never be under any necessity of having her faith reformed. For if she can never fall into any errors destructive to the faith revealed by God, what need can there be of any such reformation?

I infer, lastly, that if all men had but faith enough to believe the church established by Christ himself to be our guide, and humility enough to submit their judgment to her's, there had never been any heresy in the Christian world. Which, as it shews on the one hand the excellency of Christ's institution, so, on the other, it is a dreadful instance of the pride and misery of mankind, who had rather lose Heaven by presumption, than gain it by following better lights than their own.

If you say, 1st, that the promises of Christ are all conditional, because the condition of obedience is always implied.

I answer, that if this objection had any force, it would prove a great deal more than Protestants design. For if the promises of Christ, which were addressed immediately to his apostles, be only conditional, it follows that the apostles had not an absolute promise of being always assisted by the Holy Ghost; which, in effect, would undermine all they either taught or writ, that is, the whole New Testament.

If you tell me, that the apostles had particular privileges, as of writing scripture, of receiving the Holy Ghost visibly, &c. So that this promise might be absolute to them, and only conditional to the church in after-times.

I answer, that this too will undermine the gospel: for, 1st, if the promises made to the church be not absolute, the gates of hell may prevail against her. 2dly, when she first received the books of the New Testament, for example, the epistle to the Hebrews and the revelation, as written by the apostles, and as parts of the holy scripture, she was either absolutely infallible, or not: if she was,

an absolute promise of infallibility was not confined to the apostles and evangelists. But if she was not absolutely infallible, she might be mistaken in her faith concerning the authority of these writings: which is still to undermine the scripture.

If you say, 2dly, that the scripture is plain in all things, which is necessary for Christians to believe: and that, consequently, there is no need of an infallible guide.

I answer, that the scripture is a sure rule of faith only to those, who, for the right understanding of it, use their best endeavours, and the means which are of God's appointment, that they be not carried about with every wind of doctrine. Now one of these means, and indeed the principal one is, to consult the church established by Christ to be our guide, and to submit in all things to her decisions.

If you say, 3dly, that as fair promises of infallibility were made to the synagogue, *Deut. xvii. 8, 12, &c.* Yet it is certain she erred most grievously.

To this I answer with St. Paul, *Heb. viii. 6.* that Christ "is the mediator of a better covenant, which is established upon better promises." nay, it is very certain, the synagogue was never stiled "the pillar and ground of truth:" nor had she a divine assurance, that "the gates of hell should never prevail against her." On the contrary, her fall in rejecting the Messiah was positively foretold by the prophets: as, that he should be a "stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, &c. *Is. viii. 14.* So that if the synagogue had ever any promise of infallibility, it was not to be perpetual. But of the church, *Isais* thus prophesies: "the Redeemer shall come to Sion, &c. My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, says the Lord, from henceforth, and for ever," *Is. lix. 20. 21.* "They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure throughout all generations. *Psal. lxxii. Heb. v. 5.* which is a plain and positive prediction that the church's infallibility was to be perpetual, and last to the end of the world.

But let us now hear the Catechist's reasons against the church's infallibility. The first is, because (says he) this gives the church a greater authority than the apostles did ever claim: for which he quotes St. Paul, saying, "not for that we have dominion over your faith, &c. 2 *Cor. i. 24.*

But will the Catechist then venture to say, that the apostles were not infallible in delivering the Christian doctrine? If he does, he saps the very foundation of Christianity: for it will then follow, that they were not infallible either in their preaching or writing, and by consequence the gospels written by them are not infallibly true. How then do they contain the pure word of God, which surely is infallible?

As to the words of St. Paul, telling the Corinthians, "that he

had no dominion over their faith:" the Catechist, I hope, will not pretend that St. Paul had no power or authority from God to oblige the Corinthians to believe the doctrine he had taught them; or that he submitted it to their private judgment to examine, change, or reform it, as they pleased. And if this was not his meaning to what purpose does he quote his words; all, therefore St. Paul disclaimed, was a tyrannical or arbitrary dominion over their faith, which some false brethren accused him of to lessen his authority. That is, he would not have them imagine, that because he had been the chief instrument of their conversion to the faith, he pretended to lord it over them in an arbitrary manner, or tyrannize over their persons, by chastising them with a severity unbecoming the meekness of an apostle.

But to put the matter beyond all dispute, the same apostle writes thus to the Galatians: "though we, or an angel from Heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed," *Galat. i. 8*. Now, I ask, whether the apostle did not here claim an infallibility in what he had preached? whether in these words he allowed the Galatians to believe, that he had been under a mistake? or whether it be not plain that he demanded an entire submission to the doctrine he had taught them? and how far then was St. Paul from encouraging the private judgment of any man to controul his decisions, since he would not allow it even to an angel from Heaven, but pronounced those accursed, that should pretend to reform the doctrine he had preached?

The second reason against the church's infallibility (says the Catechist) is, "because it is contrary to Christ's command concerning the trial of doctrine." I answer, as we may examine the scriptures though infallible, so may we also try and examine the doctrine of the church though infallible; that is to say, we may not only seek to understand it according to the best of our capacity, but search diligently into the grounds or motives of our belief of it: which fully answers the following command of St. Peter, quoted by the Catechist: "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you," *1 Pet. iii. 15*. For is not every Catholic ready to give a very good reason for his hope or faith, by saying he follows a guide of God's own appointment? that Christ promised to preserve this guide from erring, and that therefore he may safely depend upon him? nay, I appeal to any man of common sense, whether they, who follow their own private judgment in opposition to church authority, can give as rational an account as this is of their hope?

His third reason against the church's infallibility, is, "because as to matter of fact guides and teachers had caused the people to sin by following them," *p. 7*. And for this he quotes four texts: but he might have spared himself the labour. For who ever doubted, but there are, and always have been, many false guides? but the question is, whether the church established by Christ to direct

us in the way of salvation be of that number? I think not. For if she were, Christ would not oblige us under pain of eternal damnation to hear her voice.

ARTICLE II.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

The second pretended error of the Papists is, that the Pope is the universal head of the church. This (says the Catechist) Protestants deny: because neither the creed nor the sacred scriptures have revealed any such thing, p. 7, 8.

ANSWER.

It is very true, that Protestants deny it. It is likewise true, that it is not mentioned in the creed: neither are the Scriptures themselves, the sacraments, priests, nor bishops, mentioned in it. But are they therefore to be laid aside? I hope not, however, we think it clearly revealed in scripture, that Christ made St. Peter the head of his church, and by consequence his successors: unless it be supposed, that the form of church government established by Christ was to end with St. Peter's life. But may we as truly say, that the power of preaching and administering the sacraments was to end with the apostles? or, that the whole episcopal order was to end with the first bishops they ordained?

Now that Christ made St. Peter head of the universal church, we prove from St. *John*, xxi. 15, 16, &c. I shall shew where the stress of the argument lies as briefly as I can. Christ on the very day of his resurrection installed St. Peter and the other apostles in their apostolical charge, *John* xx. 21. 'as my father sent me, so I send you, &c.' and I easily grant, they all received here an equal apostolical charge or jurisdiction, but appearing afterwards to St. Peter, St. John, St. James, St. Thomas, and some of the disciples, after he had eaten with them he addressed himself to St. Peter alone, with such an unusual ceremony as not to be found in the whole New Testament. St. Peter was singled out from the rest of the company. Christ asked him, "lovest thou me more than these?" and after as many repeated assurances of his love, Christ gave him a special commission to feed his lambs and sheep: that is, his whole flock.

Here I observe, first, our Saviour's demanding a greater degree of love of St. Peter, than of the other apostles; which was but a natural introduction to his laying a greater charge upon him; because the higher a person is raised in the ministry of the gospel,

the greater his love ought to be for Christ, to enable him to perform his trust.

I observe, secondly, that as the peculiar ceremony and solemnity, wherewith this action was performed, regarded St. Peter alone, as distinguished from the other apostles; so it is but congruous to common sense to infer from it, that it conveyed something to him above the rest.

But what gives the greatest force to this argument and shews, plainly, that St. Peter received here a special commission in which the other apostles had no share, is the circumstance I have already hinted at, viz. that this happened at our Saviour's third apparition to the apostles, *John* xxi. 14. Now Christ had installed both St. Peter and the other apostles in the common exercise of their apostleship, or mission, at his very first apparition to them, *John* xx 21. when he gave to them all their full power and credentials to preach the gospel every where. Either then he gave St. Peter no power at all, *John* xxi. 15, 16, &c., which is contrary to the text: or if he gave him any, it was not common to the rest then present. And what can that be but his superiority over the other apostles?

This made St. Eucherius bishop of Lions, who lived in the beginning of the fifth age, write thus, upon the eve of St. Peter's feast; first, Christ entrusted him with his lambs, next with his sheep: because he made him not only a shepherd, but the shepherd of shepherds: Peter then feeds the lambs, he also feeds the sheep. He feeds both the young and the mothers, he rules both subjects and prelates. He is therefore a shepherd over all. For besides lambs and sheep there is nothing in the church.

In the third age, St. Cyprian writing to the holy pope and martyr St. Cornelius, calls Rome, the chair of St. Peter, and the principal church, from which the unity of the priesthood is risen, *Epist.* 55.

In the second age, St. Irenæus wrote thus: by apostolical tradition, which the Roman bishops have preserved, all separatists are confounded. For to this church, by reason of its more powerful preincipality, it is necessary that all churches have recourse, *l. iii. c.* 3. But to return to the gospel.

This power of governing his church Christ promised to St. Peter, when he gave him the name of Cephas or Peter, that is, a rock or foundation-stone, assuring him, that "upon this rock he would build his church, and the gates of hell should not prevail against it," *Matt.* xvi. 18. For if Christ, the main rock or corner-stone, upon which the whole church is principally built, be for that very reason the principal head of it, he upon whom it is built under Christ, must needs be the head of it under Christ. Now that the rock, upon which our blessed Redeemer here promises to build his church is not literally his own person, nor St. Peter's confession of him, but St. Peter himself. Dr. Whitby, a Protestant divine, and a violent adversary of the

church of Rome, has proved by several arguments drawn from the text. And the following promise, v. 19. of giving to St. Peter the keys of the church, or "of the kingdom of heaven," is a further confirmation of it. For keys in the scripture language denote government, or the chief stewardship, as *Is.* xxii. 22. *Apoc.* iii. 7.

To convince the reader, that I have given him the literal sense of *Matt.* xvi. 18. I shall here set down Dr. Whitby's exposition of it: "as a suitable return to thy confession, I say also to thee, that thou art by name Peter, that is, a rock: and upon thee, who art this rock, I will build my church, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven: the power of making laws to govern my church," *Paraph.* T. I. p. 143.

Dr. Hammond, another Protestant divine, expounds it in the very same manner. His words are these: "Seeing thou hast so freely confessed me before men, I will also confess thee. Thou art Peter, &c. that is, the name by which thou art stiled and known by me is, that which signifies a stone or rock, and accordingly my church shall so be built on thee, that it shall never be destroyed."

And page 92. "What is here meant by the keys, (says he) is best understood by *Is.* xxii. 22, &c. where they signify ruling the whole family or house of the king: and this (says he) being by Christ accommodated to the church, denotes the power of governing in it." Thus Doctor Hammond. More could not well be expected from an adversary, and nothing but the force of truth could have extorted so much.

But is it not something strange that our adversaries (who cannot discover in the Scripture the least ground of St. Peter's supremacy. or that of his successors) should yet be so sharp-sighted, as to see that Christ has instituted in his church a lay-supremacy? and to see this so manifestly, that their whole clergy has sworn it over and over, though the Scripture has not a syllable of it? how unjust are interested men in their balances!

Besides the texts I have now insisted upon, there are some facts related in the acts, which plainly point at St. Peter's supremacy over the other apostles. First, the part he acted in the election of St. Mathias! which was the very first thing done by the apostles after our Saviour's ascension. And it is manifest to any unbiassed reader, that he acted on that important occasion as head of the whole assembly. I am sure St. Chrysostom was of that opinion, as the following words clearly testify: see, says he, how he acknowledges the flock entrusted to him! how he is the prince of the choir! he had reason to act here the first of all with authority, having them all delivered into his hands, *Hom.* 3. in *Act.* 2dly, whenever all the apostles are named, St. Peter is set in the first place. Nay, St. Matthew does not only name him first, but calls him the first, *Matt.* x. 2, whereas the rest are

named without any distinction of rank. 3dly, after the descent of the Holy Ghost, he was the first that signalized himself in a sermon to the Jews: and when the apostles were reflected upon by the people, he stood up and undertook their defence, *Acts* ii. 4thly, he wrought the first miracle in confirmation of the gospel. *Acts* iii. 5thly, he was the first that preached it to the gentiles, *Acts* x. And 6thly, he was the first to whom their vocation was revealed—*ibid*.

These facts are surely very considerable: and though they be not demonstrative proofs of St. Peter's supremacy, yet they contain circumstances, which very much corroborate the positive texts for it, and naturally lead an impartial reader to an idea of it. The Catechist is therefore very much out in saying, that the scriptures have not revealed any such thing as the Pope's supremacy. For if they have revealed St. Peter's supremacy, that of the Popes, who are his successors, follows as an undeniable consequence from it: unless he can either prove, that the form of church government established by Christ was to last no longer than St. Peter: which will soon make void, and put an end to all his other institutions: or that some other christian bishop has always claimed that title upon better grounds.

But whom does the Catechist affirm to be the head of the universal church? he answers Jesus Christ and him alone: for which he quotes two texts, *Psal.* xi. 6. *Eph.* i. 22. If he means, that Christ alone is the supreme, independent, and invisible head of the church, I know none but Jews, Pagans, Deists, and Atheists, that will contradict him, and this is the undoubted meaning of the two texts he has quoted. But are not men to be governed immediately by men? or is Christ's supreme headship over the church any ways prejudiced by his having a visible substitute or governor immediately under him, and wholly depending on him? no, surely, for God is the supreme Lord and governor of the world: yet sovereign princes, kings, and emperors, stile themselves supreme lords and masters of their dominions immediately under God; and that without the least disparagement or injury done to the divine prerogative.

If any one objects, that there is not an universal monarch under God to govern the whole world, nor by consequence, an universal vicar under Christ to govern the whole church; I answer, the parity might hold, if God had established one universal monarchy, as Christ has established one universal church upon earth. The difference is therefore plain and obvious to common sense. Because we find no where that God has established an universal monarchy. But it is an unquestionable truth, that Christ has established an universal church upon earth, unless the creed be false. For what does the word Catholic else mean? It means, undoubtedly, that the church of Christ is not limited to this or that particular nation like the temporal kingdoms of this world, but is the church of all nations according to scripture-language, "go and teach ye all

nations," *Matt.* xxviii. 19. Now as Christ has established one Catholic church upon earth, so, to shew its unity, he was pleased to constitute one head for the government of it. *Cyp. de Unit. Eccless.*

ARTICLE III.

OF OBEDIENCE TO THE POPE, AND ALLEGIANCE TO SOVEREIGNS.

The third pretended error of Papists is, that kings and emperors with their respective subjects are at the Pope's disposal in general: and particularly that the persons and estates of the clergy are not under the power of the the civil magistrates; p. 8.

ANSWER.

If the Catechist means, that kings and emperors are subject to the Pope in the government of their temporal dominions; or that the clergy are not bound to pay allegiance to their respective sovereigns, we utterly disown any such doctrine.—But if he means no more, than that all members of the church (even kings and emperors not excepted) are subject to her laws, and bound to be guided by those whom God has appointed to be their governors in spirituals, this we do not deny: and it is as certainly true, as that Christ has not chosen secular magistrates, but bishops, to govern his church, *Acts* xx. 28.

Again, if by the second part of what he calls a Popish error he only means, that the clergy by imperial and church-laws are exempt from the jurisdiction of secular tribunals, until they have first stood their trial in the spiritual court, and that church-lands have several privileges: this is so far from being an abuse or error; that the Magna Charta of Great Britain is not so ancient by many hundred years, as the privileges of the clergy. Nor am I clear sighted enough to comprehend, how this makes Papists worse subjects than Protestants. For as children may obey their parents, and the inferior clergy their bishops, so may Roman Catholics in all countries whatsoever obey their common pastor, without transgressing against the allegiance due to their respective sovereigns. Nay, if the Catechist will only take a view of Catholic countries, he will find the clergy there as faithful subjects, and as ready to open their purses in any exigency of the state, as in the dominions of Great Britain.

He will also find the course of justice not at all obstructed by their privilege of being first tryed by their own spiritual peers. On the contrary, a wicked priest is as severely punished at Madrid or Paris, as a wicked parson in London: only with this difference, that he is first stripped of the marks of his priestly character, which he has

dishonoured. Nor is his canonical gown suffered to accompany him to the gallows, or to bear a part in his disgrace. This, indeed, is a sight the people are strangers to on the other side of the British seas.

Hence it follows, that the Catechist might have spared that profusion of texts, whereof he is commonly very prodigal when they are nothing to the purpose. Those he has here produced serve only to prove, that all, both laity and clergy, are bound to be faithful to, and obey their lawful sovereign, when they command nothing that is contrary to Christ's institutions, or the express law of God. Which no Catholic denies.

ARTICLE IV.

WHETHER THE POPE BE ANTICHRIST ?

The fourth pretended error of Papists, that the Pope of Rome is next under Christ, p. 9.

ANSWER.

It is no error to say the Pope is next under Christ in spirituals, as kings and other sovereign princes are next under God in the government of their dominions in temporals.

But then the Catechist puts this question, what say the Protestants ? to which he gives this answer. That he is antichrist. If the Catechist had said, that many hot-headed Protestant writers maintain this ridiculous paradox in the heat of their invectives against Popery, he would have spoken truth. But to deliver in a familiar catechism written for children as a dogmatical point of Protestant belief, and charge it upon the whole Protestant church, is a boldness, I am persuaded, will be disapproved by the more sober and learned part of his communion.

Mr. Thorndike, an eminent Protestant divine, has already done it in his just weights and measures, *Ch. II.* where he writes thus : "let not those, who charge the Pope to be antichrist, and Papists idolators, lead the people by the nose to believe that they can prove their supposition, when they cannot." Nay, Martin Luther himself, who was all fire and tow, and bore the Pope as hearty a grudge as any man living, yet had many a heavy qualm upon his conscience, before he could work himself into a belief of it. For in the preface to his book, concerning the suppressing of private Masses, he writes thus : "with how many medicines and powerful evidences of scriptures have I scarce yet settled my conscience to be alone able to contradict the Pope ; and believe him to be antichrist, the bishops his apostles, and the universities his stews ?—

How often did my heart tremble and reprehend me by objecting their strongest and only argument, art thou alone wise, and do all err?" These were the troublesome panes Martin Luther laboured under, before he could persuade himself, that the Pope was antichrist, which the Catechist swallows down as glibly as a sugar-plum, and delivers it to children as an article of Protestant doctrine.

But, methinks before he ventured to pronounce so peremptorily upon the matter, he ought to have considered, first, that antichrist (as described by St. Paul, and in the Revelations) is a man that bids open defiance to Christ: and then he ought to have examined, how this can agree to a christian bishop, who not only professes the faith of Jesus Christ, but sends yearly missionaries into pagan countries to preach and propagate his holy name amongst infidels: nay, and whenever the emperor is at war with the Turks, furnishes large sums of money against those enemies of christianity. Now is this acting like antichrist, or is it not rather performing the part of one zealous for the christian cause.

2dly, before he ventured to deliver it as the doctrine of Protestants in general, he ought to have consulted the authentic doctrine of the church of England, I mean, the thirty-nine articles of that religion; and then considered seriously, whether he found any encouragement there to fix so infamous a scandal upon a sacred person, who, by the dignity of his see is esteemed by Protestants themselves the first bishop in the world; though they will not allow his supremacy over the whole church. Now the 37th article of that religion, which speaks expressly of the Pope, says not a word of his being antichrist. And is it credible that the compilers of those articles would have omitted a thing of that importance against the church of Rome, had they not looked upon it as a groundless fable fit only to be believed by idiots or madmen?

Again, the antichrist foretold and described in holy writ, is a person so clearly marked out and characterized, that it is next to impossible he should be in the christian world for any number of years and not be known by all mankind. If then, the Pope be this antichrist, and has by consequence, been so for many hundred years in the world, is it not an incomprehensible mystery that he should sit upon his throne, and reign in the most famous city of the world for so many ages together, yet, in all that space of time, no emperor, no king, no bishop of whole Christendom should know any thing of the matter, untill Martin Luther told the first news of it? "be astonished, O ye heavens, at this!" *Jer. ii. 12.*

But what increases this wonder still more is, that, whereas, the Greek church separated herself from the church of Rome about the middle of the 9th age, and (allowing only for a short lived reconciliation about five hundred years after) has ever since continued in her schism, yet in all that space of time the clear-sighted Greeks, though ever so highly exasperated against the Latins, nay, though they reproached them with the most trivial things, as shaving their

beards, consecrating in unleavened bread, eating hog's flesh, &c., yet, I say, it never entered into their thoughts to accuse them of having antichrist for the head of their church: which, if they could have done it with any colour of truth, would have fully justified their separation without any more ado.

The plain truth of the matter is, the whole bulk of antiquity never understood the prophecies concerning antichrist, otherwise, than of a single man; who is to come into the world not long before the day of judgment; is to reign three years and six months, and to work such strange wonders by the power of the devil, who is then to be let loose, that the elect themselves will be in danger of being seduced, if that were possible. This was antiently the current literal exposition of the prophecies, concerning antichrist: but the ridiculous whim of applying them to the Bishop of Rome was as far from the thoughts of any ancient writer, as of applying it to the man of the moon.

However, let us see what the Catechist has to prove it. The Pope (says he) is antichrist, because none have more the marks of antichrist than he. And this he proves, because no antichrist can do worse things than he, p. 9. Most stoutly said! and the text he brings for it, proves the Pope to be the antichrist as fully, as it proves him to be the great Mogul. It is as follows: "let no man beguile you by any means. For that day (i. e. the day of judgment) shall not come except there be a falling away first, and the man of sin be revealed, That son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped. So that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish," 2 Thes. ii. 3, 4. and 8, 9.

Must not a man both have his heart strangely poisoned, and his head disturbed to apply this text to a long catalogue of christian bishops succeeding one another for many ages together? we find here a single person described, who is to be the fore-runner of the day of judgment; who is to be abandoned by God to a reprobate sense, in the study and practice of all sort of wickedness, and is therefore called the man of sin, and son of perdition.—Who will exalt himself above God, and sit in the temple of God to be worshipped as God. Whom the Lord will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming. And finally that he will be permitted by God to seduce the reprobate with signs and wonders wrought by the power of Satan: amongst which St. John in his revelations, chap. xiii. (to which the Catechist also refers his reader) reckons particularly,

that he will make fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men. This is the description of antichrist in the text quoted by him to prove that the Pope is the man. And, indeed, the picture St. Paul has drawn of him is as like the Pope, as a bear is like a man, and it is a full proof of the Catechist's most admirable skill in applying texts. But what wonder is it? his pious design was to seduce the ignorant, who will believe that the Pope is a horned beast, and has a long tail, if they be but told so.

Ay, but the Pope claims to himself the headship or superiority over the whole church, and that is a clear mark of antichrist: because it is an usurpation of a title belonging only to Jesus Christ, who is alone the head of the universal church. But I have already told the Catechist, that Christ alone is the supreme, independent, and invisible head of the church, as God alone is the supreme, independent, and invisible governor of the world. But as this hinders not emperors, kings, and sovereign princes from justly stiling themselves supreme lords and masters of their dominions under God; so the supreme headship of Christ over the church is no ways prejudiced by his having, even according to his own institution, a supreme, visible, and independent substitute or governor, immediately under him. For if this be a clear mark of antichrist, it will follow, first, that antichrist was established by Christ himself, and received his commission and authority immediately from him.—2dly, that Leo the Great, that venerable and holy bishop of Rome, who maintained the supremacy of his see with the utmost vigour, was antichrist. And 3dly, that St. Gregory the Great, who likewise asserted his supremacy as vigorously as any Pope ever did, and to whose zeal England owes its conversion, was also antichrist: and so England was converted by antichrist to Christianity; which I really believe every true Englishman and Christian will be ashamed to own.

ARTICLE V.

Section I.

WHETHER PROTESTANTS BE GUILTY OF HERESY?

The fifth pretended error of Papists is, in holding that Protestants are heretics in separating from them, p. 10.

ANSWER.

We hold that there is but one Catholic church, and but one true faith. The first is an express article of the Nicene creed, which (according to the doctrine of the church of England, 8th art. of religion) ought thoroughly to be received and believed. The 2d is ex-

pressly taught by St. Paul, saying, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," *Eph.* iv. 5. Whence it follows, that they who are not members of this one Catholic church, nor profess this one faith (allowing only for invincible ignorance) are truly heretics. And therefore if Protestants persist obstinately to deny their faith, and live in a separate communion from this Catholic church, it is their fault if we cannot entertain a better opinion of them than the ancient fathers had of all those, who, in former ages, separated themselves from the faith and communion of the Catholic church.

But let us see, whether in this we do not act conformably to the word of God. It is evident, from the gospel, that Christ gave a double power to those whom he placed in his ministry. The first, of teaching truths of the Christian religion: and of this he says, "he that hears you, hears me," *Luke* x. 16. The second of governing those that should embrace his faith. Of this St. Paul says, "obey them that have the rule over you," *Heb.* xiii. 17. The first power was designed to keep Christians in the unity of faith. The second to keep them in the bonds of a regular and eternal communion. Therefore rejecting what the pastors of Christ's church deliver as the Christian doctrine, has, in all ages of Christianity from the apostles to us, been called heresy; and refusing to submit to the government of lawful pastors, has, likewise, in all ages, been accounted schism. But both the one and the other are reckoned by St. Paul amongst deadly sins. "Avoid, (says he) after the first and second admonition, a man that is an heretic; knowing that he who is such is subverted, and that he sins, being condemned of himself," *Tit.* iii, 10, 11. Now if denying and opposing the public faith of the church be not the sin of heresy, I should be glad to know what sin it is. But a plain example will give light to the matter.

I question not but every Protestant will grant that there have been heretics in the world: and I shall mention one, of whose just claim to that title no true Protestant can doubt. I mean Arius: who denied the consubstantiality of the Son. And though he pretend to have plain scripture for his doctrine (as these words of Christ, "my father is greater than I,") this hindered not his being condemned for an heretic by the great council of Nice. And indeed he had all the marks of one. As maintaining a doctrine contrary to the faith of the whole visible church of Christ in being: preaching without a commission from her: appealing from her authority to the dead letter of scripture, as all heretics do, and making his own private judgment the sole interpreter of it. In a word, an invincible obstinacy even after sentence juridically pronounced against him, first by his immediate superior, and afterwards by the supreme tribunal of the church. These are the usual marks of what we call an arch-heretic, and were, undoubtedly, very notorious in Arius, and by consequence in all his followers.

Now the thing I demand is precisely this, *viz.* some satisfactory reason, why Arius was an heretic any more than Martin Luther, John Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, and other heads of the pretended Protestant reformation? or, (which amounts to the same) that some proper and distinguishing mark of an heretic may be found to belong to Arius, which cannot be appropriated to the other forementioned reformers. If the Catechist can perform this, he will do a signal piece of service to the Protestant cause, and have just reason to quarrel with us for accusing him and his Protestant brethern of heresy. But if this cannot be done, (and I fear the task will prove somewhat hard,) then it follows, that the respective reformed churches founded by Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, &c., are all heretical churches like the Arians; and not part of the true church of Christ.

But let us now hear the Catechist. He puts the question.—What say Protestants to this? which he answers thus: they say that it being granted that Protestants did separate themselves from the church of Rome, yet they did it upon just grounds. But, lest this should look like begging the question, he glosses it over with a shew of reason in the following manner: “because (says he) they did it for the sake of Christ, and the purity of religion; for which reason the are so recommended to do,” 2 *Cor.* vi. 15, 16, 17, 18.—“What concord has Christ with Belial? or what part has he that believeth with an infidel? what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? ye are the temples of the living God: wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Is not this a most admirable text to prove that Protestants separated themselves from the church of Rome for the sake of Christ and purity of religion! The primitive Christians are here exhorted by St. Paul to separate themselves from the commerce and society of heathens: and our judicious Catechist infers from it therefore Protestants separated themselves from the church of Rome for the sake of Christ and purity of religion. Who is able to resist the force of such strong reasoning? But, suppose the Puritans, Anabaptists, or Quakers, should alledge the very same reason and text to justify their separation from the church of England, would it not be satisfactory to a miracle, and give great edification to all true Protestants?

Now let us hear the following question and answer. *Q.* What was there in the Romish religion, that occasioned Protestants to separate themselves from it? *A.* In that it was a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind, and blasphemous religion; p. 10. This is such an outrageous piece of billingsgate-slander, as might provoke a man to an immoderate heat. But to convince the Catechist that I am both free from passion, and have

a tender concern for him ; I heartily wish him some good physic to cool his head, and some grains of Christian charity to correct his heart. For he stands highly in need of both. As to the charge of Popery being a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, and blasphemous religion, I shall give my answer to it when I speak of invocation of saints, images, relics, merit, &c. the other injurious titles shall be examined in the Appendix:

However the Catechist being a person of nice justice, and one that would not for the world wrong any but Papists, has a scruple of seeming to allow that Protestants separated themselves from us, and corrects himself by saying, that the church of Rome more properly separated from them, than they from the church of Rome ; p. 11. It seems then that Papists being conscious to themselves, that they profess a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind, and blasphemous religion, had the charity and good manners to separate themselves from Protestants, lest these should be infected by keeping such bad company. But what need had the Catechist to make Papists be thought the authors of the separation, if he really believed them to be as bad as he represents them ? on the contrary, he ought rather to glory in the Protestants having separated themselves from a knot of such wicked people. I must needs say, this looks as if his conscience reproached him, that he has wronged them.

But let that be as it will, I have always been of opinion, that a ship breaks loose from the shore, and not the shore from it. And why so ? because the shore remains where it was, but not the ship. Now just so did the church of Rome at the time of the pretended reformation. She remained where she had been for many hundred years ; that is, she continued to maintain the doctrine she had always taught, and which had been professed in England for nine hundred years without interruption. But the first reformers did not remain where they were before. For they had all received their baptism in the church of Rome, and professed her faith for many years. It is therefore absurd to say, (as the Catechist does) that the church of Rome more properly separated from Protestants, than Protestants from the church of Rome. However if he only means that the Pope excommunicated Luther and his adherents, for reviving errors condemned by the Catholic church, some above six hundred, and some above a thousand years before, and that Luther did not excommunicate the Pope, I shall not quarrel with him about the matter : for if that sufficed to make the Pope the author of the schism, it would follow that the Catholic church, which has always excommunicated obstinate heretics, has been the author of all the schisms occasioned by the heresies they broached : which is as absurd as to say that the parliament, when it attaints rebellious subjects, is the author of the rebellion.

Let us now see whether the Catechist, who is so fierce in his attacks upon the church of Rome, will be able to stand his ground

against the strength of an objection relating to the English reformation of that church: to wit, its owing both the beginning, progress, and full establishment of it to the secular power, without the free consent of the clergy, who are the guides and governors in spirituals, appointed by God himself:

Section I.

The English Reformation was made without the free consent of the Clergy.

When our adversaries are told, that the late changes in religion (which they call the reformation) were made in a direct opposition to the church authority and lawful superiors: the common answer is, that though this may be true of foreign parts, yet in England, the bishops and the whole clergy freely reformed themselves by their own authority, without any previous threats or fears, or any interested compliance with the designs of the court.

This, if true, would neither justify the reformation, nor hinder it from being made against a lawful and superior church authority, as will appear by and by. But, indeed, the fact was quite otherwise. For the body of the English clergy never consented to the reformation, until it was not safe to oppose it. This is proved unanswerably in the 5th part of church government. I shall only mention a few particulars. Which yet, perhaps, may be sufficient to let the reader see, that the English reformation in all its three changes was a mere creature of the state:

1. The reformation began in the 22d year of king Henry VIII., was carried on in the minority of king Edward VI., and finished by queen Elizabeth. As to the present state of it, it is wholly owing to her. For what king Henry, and the duke of Somerset had done in his pupil's name, was all repealed by the joint authority of church and state in queen Mary's reign. The original cause of the reformation was this: king Henry VIII., finding the Pope would not agree to let him put away queen Catherine (after he had lived with her in marriage above twenty years) that he might be able to do it himself, resolves to take upon him the new title of supreme head of the church of England in spirituals. This was to strip the Pope at once of a two-fold title of spiritual supremacy over him and his subjects. First, as St. Peter's successor in the care of the whole church. Secondly, as the western patriarch. The first of these titles, when Luther began to question it, had been asserted briskly by king Henry VIII., who had, upon that account received from the Pope the title of defender of the faith. The Pope's second claim admitted of no dispute; it being an uncontested fact, that in spiritual concerns, the island had been nine hundred years under him as patriarch or chief metropolitan of the west. But the king being resolved to be the only spiritual head of his people, brought the clergy

over to his side by this stratagem. He demands an hundred thousand pounds of them for the expenses, which, by their faults, he said he had been at in procuring authentic testimonies of foreign universities against his marriage. The clergy refusing to give so great a sum, he cast them under a premunire. So that now they are liable to be imprisoned, and to have their estates confiscated at his pleasure. For their ransom they offer a hundred thousand pounds. But are told by the court, that it is too late unless they will also own the king's supremacy. They consent with this reserve, as far as it is consistent with the laws of Christ. But the king will have no limitation. They must either absolutely submit, or the premunire must be executed. The whole is related by archbishop Parker in his *Antiq. Britan.* p. 326. Thus was the first and main article of the reformation gained. And we see what mighty freedom the clergy had in it. I must needs call it the main article; because the spiritual supremacy of the crown gave both a being and authority to all the other parts of the reformation. For none of the three reforming princes undertook that work either in the name or by the authority of the clergy, but only by virtue of their own spiritual supremacy, and as supreme judges in controversies of religion.

King Henry carried the reformation on no farther. However, he took care it should never be in the power of the clergy to oppose the court in matters of religion. For he peremptorily required of them, says Dr. Heylin. that no constitution or ordinance shall be hereafter by the clergy enacted, promulgated, or put in execution, unless the king's highness approve it. And to this, says he, on the 15th of May, 1532, they made their absolute submission. Thus, far then these gentlemen made but a mean figure in the reformation.

2. In the first year of king Edward VI., (a child of ten years old) the clergy was assembled to push it forward. But nothing could be got from them. On the contrary, the convocation offered a remonstrance to the king (recorded by Dr. Stillingfleet, Iren. part 2. chap. 8.) that no statute should pass concerning religion, without the assent of the clergy. Nothing surely could be more reasonable, if it was to be their act. But this could not be obtained.

3. In the 3d and 4th years of the same prince, the parliament authorised sixteen laymen, and as many of the clergy (whom the court should nominate) to make what changes they or the greater part of them thought fit, in the laws of the church. So that here one clergyman's vote, (and it is strange if the court could not find one for their purpose) joined with sixteen laymen, was enough to carry on the reformation, against the whole body of the English clergy. But before this the duke of Somerset, in king Edward's name, had made almost a general reformation through the realm.—For it was not thought safe to let it be done by the clergy, both Mr. Fuller and Dr. Heylin confess.

4. The forty-two articles of that religion, anno. 1552, carry in their front the name of a synod. Indeed the clergy had now been five

years modelling, as it were on a stage, new players coming in and the old ones being cast out, says Fox, *p.* 1180. But Mr Fuller lets his readers know, that these articles were not really made by any synod at all: and the true reason, says he, why the king would not trust the diffusive body of the convocation with a power of meddling with matters of religion was a just jealousy which he had of the ill-affection of the major part thereof, *L. 7. Hist. p.* 420.

Bishop Ridley gives us the same account. The most part of the clergy, says he, parsons, prebendaries, archdeacons, deans, and the bishops too, for the most part, were never persuaded in their hearts (of the reformation) but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake; Fox, *p.* 1616. So that if king Edward's reformation had been left to the clergy, it had never been made at all.

5. It is no small confirmation of this, that when a synod was called within five or six days after queen Mary's coronation, and before any new moulding of the ecclesiastical body, all but six voted against king Edward's reformation.

6. Queen Elizabeth, as Dr. Heylin fairly owns, went the same way to work in the reformation, which her two predecessors, king Henry and king Edward had done before her. That is, she did all by her own authority. But when the times, says he, were better settled (that is, when she had changed, frightened, punished, and overawed the clergy) she left church-work to the disposing of church-men. Thus Dr. Heylin, *Eccles. vind.* §. 6. *p.* 36. Indeed she might then safely do it.

7. Her first parliament gives her full power and authority (by virtue of this act) to name and authorise such persons as her majesty shall think meet to reform the nation, act. 1. Eliz. c. 1. Though all the bishops that were then in parliament, opposed this statute; Cambden, 1. Eliz. And, now, without making use of any one clergyman, she can reform the whole clergy.

8. She stood, doubtless, in need of a pretty large commission.—For Dr. Heylin gives this account of her clergy, “the bishops at that time, says he, were reduced to a narrower number than ever before: there being no more than fifteen of that sacred order left alive. These, being called by some of the lords of the council, were required to take the oath of supremacy.” Kitchen of Landaff, (whom Cambden stiles the calamity of his see) only takes it: who having formerly submitted to every change under king Henry VIII., king Edward VI., and queen Mary, resolved to shew himself no changeling in not conforming himself to the pleasures of the higher powers. By all the rest it was refused. Whereupon they were deprived of their bishoprics. And with them fifteen presidents of colleges, twelve deans, twelve arch-deacons, six abbots, and fifty prebendaries were removed.

9. As to the convocation, which sat at the same time with her first parliament, Mr. Fuller writes thus of it, *L. 9.* It is observed in nature, that when one twin is of an unusual strength and bigness, the

other born with it is weak and dwindles away: so here, queen Elizabeth's first parliament being very active in matters of religion, the convocation, younger brother thereunto, was little employed, less regarded. It seems church-business was not yet to be trusted in the hands of church-men.

10. The same historian (*L. 9. p. 54.*) copied from the authentic register, the following articles signed by the convocation and by both universities.

First, in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, the natural body and blood of Christ is really present, under the appearance of bread and wine:

2. The substance of bread and wine does not remain after consecration.

3. In the Mass is offered the true body and blood of Christ, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.

4. The chief power of governing the church of Christ upon earth, was given to St. Peter, and to his lawful successors in the see apostolic, as to vicars of Christ. To these the convocation added:

5. The authority of treating and defining matters, relating to faith, sacraments, and church discipline, has always hitherto belonged, and ought only to belong to the pastors of the church, whom the Holy Ghost has appointed in it for that end, and not to laymen.

If these few instances be not enough to convince any impartial reader, that the body of the clergy came not into the reformation by their own free and unbiassed choice, I must confess I know not what evidence means. But, I have still an observation or two to make.

The first is extremely notorious, and Dr. Heylin has publicly confessed it, that the reformation was not an effect of pure zeal, but qualified with a desire, not altogether spiritual, of church lands and treasures of an immense value. The first royal reformer, and his trusty adherents in both houses of parliament, had the largest and best share of the prize. But still there were many sweet bits left both for the crown and the nobility, that it should afterwards engage in so christian and profitable an undertaking. And having such a prodigious gain in hand, and Heaven in reversion, at a much easier purchase than formerly, it is no wonder that the reformation went glibly on in spite of the clergy, who (besides wives and children) got little by it. Some of them opposed the court-projects; and by suffering, taught others to conform. The greatest part had no vocation to martyrdom, and so were forced to submit.

The second observation is, that king Henry and queen Elizabeth (besides the fairest prospect imaginable of enriching themselves and their friends) had other powerful views, which made the reformation necessary. He had no other means to be rid of queen Catherine: and queen Elizabeth being born of a second wife, whilst the first was living, knew very well (says Dr. Heylin) that her title to the crown and the Pope's supremacy, could not stand together; and that she could not maintain the one without a discarding of the other. She

found then one of her greatest interests upon earth in the reformation; which was probably the reason of her being so much more clear-sighted than her clergy.

I observe thirdly, that since the Pope (even setting aside that supremacy which he has as St. Peter's successor) had another undoubted one over England, as the western patriarch, confirmed by the practice of nine hundred years, which therefore gave him a more ancient title over the kingdom in spiritual concerns, than any of the royal reformers could perhaps shew they had to the crown; it was but just that the clergy should have freely debated a matter, in which their own duty, as well as the conscience of their sovereign, was so immediately concerned. But it seems the court was of another opinion in all the three reigns.

If you say, first, what king Edward did by the advice of his privy council, was approved by Cranmer (archbishop of Canterbury) who was in it; I answer, 1st, that the same form would have been used, though Cranmer had dissented. 2. That he did not act there as archbishop of Canterbury. 3. What is this to the body of the clergy?

If you say, 2dly, that all the acts of parliament were made by the lords spiritual and temporal. I answer, that this form too is used, though all the bishops vote against the act. As it happened in queen Elizabeth's first parliament for reformation.

If you say, 3dly, that in her time the clergy approved it, I answer: it was not so in the beginning: for then the bishops, the convocation, and both universities were against it. And if afterwards the clergy consented, it was not until they had seen lives and livings lost, incumbents changed, and that it was utterly unsafe to resist the measures of the court. Now, I would only ask one question. If the Pope had used the same method in the Council of Trent: if he had made a great number of the bishops incapable of preferments, had deprived them of their bishoprics, loaded them with chains, or sent them into banishment to fright the rest, would the council have been free? yet this was all the liberty that queen Elizabeth's clergy had when they consented to the reformation.

But let us suppose after all, that they had given their consent with all the freedom imaginable, it must still be owned, that the reformation was made in opposition to a lawful church authority, even setting aside the question of the Pope's supremacy by divine right. Unless we imagine that nine hundred years are not enough to fix the right of a metropolitan; that parts are not subject to the whole; and that the whole body of Catholic pastors has no authority over a few dissenting prelates. For 1st, the English bishops, with their clergy, had been a part of the western patriarchate for nine hundred years. 2dly, they were also a part of the whole Catholic clergy, against which they reformed.

Hence these two important truths of necessity follow:

First, that England before the reformation, was subject to a

foreign right, in the concerns of religion, and that this right is such as no human power can over-rule. Because as a part of Christ's church, it was subject to the whole. And no monarch, I hope, will pretend to deprive the whole church of Christ of that spiritual power, which Christ himself was pleased to give it over its members.

It follows, secondly, that the reformation cannot be justified.

For, first, it is against common sense to say, that twenty-six bishops are included in the whole, and yet not subject to the authority and censures of it. It were, says Mr. Thorndike, a contradiction for the church of England to pray for the Catholic church and the unity of it, and yet to renounce the jurisdiction of the whole church, and the general councils thereof over England.—Due ways of composing diff. p. 7.

Secondly, it is clear by the universal tradition of all ages, that the supreme authority of deciding controversies in religion, is in the mean body of Catholic pastors, so that a few dissenting bishops (as twenty-six for example, against many hundreds) of how fair a character soever, are not to be regarded.

Thirdly, if twenty-six bishops may outvote many hundreds, six, or a much less number, may outvote twenty-six, and by this means it will be impossible for the faithful to know certainly who are the judges and guides whom they are to follow: unless the people must take the cause into their own hands, and by the merits of it judge their judges, and over-rule their guides. That is, unless they must invert the whole order of judicature which Christ established for them in his church, when he appointed them "pastors and teachers, that they might not be tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine: the faith of which pastors the people ought to follow," *Eph.* iv. 11, 14. *Heb.* xiii. 7.

Fourthly, either controversies in religion must be ended by authority, or only by the merits of the cause. If by the authority of many judges, it is evident to common sense that the lesser part is not to be regarded. If by the merits of the case only, all disputes in religion are as endless as law-suits would be, if there were no certain means left in the state to put an end to them, besides the law itself, and the contending parties. A state thus established would be worse than bedlam: and therefore I cannot but hope, it will be thought to border too much upon blasphemy to say, that Christ has left no certain rule or judgment in his church, for the ending of controversies in matters of religion, but only by law or the merits of the cause, which are the same thing.

That twenty-six English bishops (for we have no more sees) together with their clergy, were but a small part of Catholic pastors, is evident by this: that when the reformation began, there were in their mother-church, not much less than an hundred universities, and near a thousand bishops. To which, if we add those who had died in her faith and communion, the number of her bishops alone, without including any of the inferior clergy, could not well amount to

less at the time of the reformation, than fifty thousand. Some of which, I hope, may have as fair a reputation of piety and learning, as any of the reformers:

ARTICLE VI.

Section I.

WHETHER THE CHURCH OF ROME BE THE ONLY TRUE CHURCH?

The sixth pretended error in Papists is, their holding that the Church of Rome is the only true Church.

ANSWER.

When we say, that the church of Rome is the only true church, we neither mean the city, nor the diocese of Rome. For that is but a part of the true church; and any Catholic city or diocese in the world, is as much a true church as the city or diocese of Rome. No Papist therefore ever was so weak as to mean this. But their true and only meaning is, that, that body or society of Christians (whereever dispersed throughout the whole world) which is united in faith and communion with the bishop of Rome, is alone the true church of Christ upon earth: and we prove it thus:

There is but one faith, and one Catholic church. The first is expressly taught by St. Paul, saying, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, *Eph.* iv, 5. and we profess the other in the Nicene Creed, as I have already remarked. So that, if there be more than one true faith, St. Paul is mistaken; and if there be more than one true Catholic church the creed deceives us, and since it is impious to say either the one or the other, it only remains to shew, that the Church of Rome is this true Catholic church, which I prove from this uncon'tested principle, viz: that there was a true Catholic church upon earth before the reformation. For if there was not, it will follow that this article of the creed, I believe one, holy Catholic, and apostolic church was false for many hundred years together, because the pretended reformation only began in the year 1517.

Here then Protestants must do one of these two things. They must either grant, that the church of Rome was this true Catholic church before the reformation, or mark out some other visible body or society of men, in which the true church of Christ subsisted before that time. If they grant the first, it is all we can desire: we gain our cause, and the dispute is at an end. For, if the church of Rome was the true Catholic church before the reformation, she is so now; because her faith is the same now, it was then. Besides, it will follow, that Protestants separated themselves, and continue separated from the true Catholic church, which alone suffices to condemn them.

But if they deny that the church of Rome was the true Catholic church before the reformation, then they are bound to shew us some other visible body or society of Christians, in which the true church subsisted before that time : and to perform this effectually, they are bound to let us know in what part of the world this church had her being ; as likewise what particular countries, kings, and bishops were in her communion. And lastly, they must specify to us the name and diocese of the bishop or bishops of this church, by whom the first English Protestant bishop was ordained, and from whom the church of England derives her mission. But this being a task impossible for them to perform, I do not see what other choice our English Protestants have left them, but either to say that the creed was false for many hundred years before the reformation, or own that the church in communion with the see of Rome was the only true Catholic church before that time : and if she was the only true Catholic church when Protestants reformed her, she is so still : because she has not changed her faith since that time, as I have already observed.

I fancy the Catechist foresaw he would be pinched very hard with this argument, when he put the following question. Where was the Protestant religion before Luther ? To which he gives this answer : in the Bible doctrinally, and in its fruits in the hearts and lives of all good men, *p.* 25. Very pretty indeed ! it seems then that the Protestant religion had a being in the world before the Protestant reformation. Nay, I begin to fear, the Popes themselves were true Protestants : for none but God alone could know their hearts. However, it is very strange, nay, inconceivable, how those should be good men, who had the Protestant religion in their hearts, yet professed and practised Popery like the rest of the Christian world. For it follows hence, that they were either ashamed or afraid to profess the religion they believed in their hearts ; and so the good men, our Catechist speaks of, will be found to have been rank hypocrites, and dissemblers of their religion.

But it is observed, that the Catechist speaks of Protestantism in general. For he asks, where the Protestant religion was before Luther ? and there is no reason to believe that one part of it was any more destitute of a being than the other. Well then, where was Protestantism before the reformation ? in what region of this sublunary world was it to be found ? to which our Catechist answers very discreetly, in the Bible doctrinally, and in its fruits in the hearts and lives of all good men. What ! was Lutheran Protestantism, Calvinian Protestantism, Episcopal Protestantism, Puritanical Protestantism. Anabaptistical Protestantism, and numberless other sects and subdivisions of Protestantism, were these, I say, all in the Bible, and the hearts of all good men ? If they were, it must needs be granted, that both the Bible, and the hearts of all good men stood highly in need of a thorough reformation, to purge them of the innumerable contradictions crowded into them by such a multitude

offjarring sects. For, if Lutheran Protestancy be true, Calvinian Protestancy must be false: and if church of England Protestancy be true, Puritanical and Anabaptistical Protestancy must likewise be false: yet, all these are branches of the Protestant religion, and if it was in the Bible and hearts of all good men before the reformation, then it follows plainly that the Bible and hearts of all good men were stuffed with contradictions:

But does not the poor gentleman see, that he has here cut out a cloak for the very worst of heretics to cover themselves with; for ask a Quaker where his religion was before James Naylor? and he will answer as ready as the Catechist, that it was in the bible doctrinally, and in its fruits in the hearts and lives of all good men.—And so every heretic in the world has a singular obligation to the Catechist for having furnished him with this ingenious answer to help him out at a dead lift.

However, he is fully resolved, that the church of Rome shall not be so much as a true church: as will appear in the following questions and answers:

Q. What say the Protestants to this? (viz. that the church of Rome is the only true church.)

A. They deny it.

Q. Why?

A. Because the Roman church agrees not with the definition of a true church.

Q. What is the true church?

A. The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, *p.* 11.

The definition is not amiss, if he does not mean that the church upon earth consists only of the elect. The reason is, 1. Because a man may be a member of the true church, yet live and die wickedly in it; and by consequence be excluded out of the number of God's elect. 2. If the true church be composed only of the elect, it follows, that as the elect are wholly unknown to us, the true church is, and has always been invisible. Whence it follows again, that it has always been impossible for any man to apply himself to the true church for instruction, ordination, or a lawful mission: which evacuates all episcopal and pastoral authority: because no man can know, whether the bishops and pastors, to whom he would apply himself, be of the number of the elect, nor by consequence, whether they be members of the true church. Which is most certainly false doctrine.

Section II.

THE MARKS OF THE TRUE CHURCH.

The Catechist concludes this article with this question, what are the marks of the true church? he answers, such as these: pure and

sound doctrine preached, the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, and the right use of the ecclesiastical discipline, *p.* 11, 12. All this is very true, but altogether unsatisfactory.—For if any one should ask him, where this true church in which pure and sound doctrine is preached, is to be found? This question remains yet wholly unanswered: yet here lies the knot of the difficulty, and if it be not clearly resolved, we may easily mistake a false church for the true one, because all Christian churches, though ever so opposite to one another, pretend to teach pure and sound doctrine, and administer the sacraments according to Christ's institution. So that the Catechist's account of the true church is as little to the purpose as if a stranger, inquiring for the best inn upon the road, a man should tell him, that the best inn is where there is the best accommodation, For though this be very true, yet unless some other marks be given, as the sign of the house, the name of the man that keeps it, and the like, a stranger will be as much at a loss to find it, as if nothing were said to him, In like manner though what the Catechist says concerning the true church be unquestionable, yet in respect of the greatest part of mankind it is of no manner of use to direct them how to distinguish this one true church from the many false ones, that lay claim to it, without certain external marks whereby it may be clearly known in what particular body or society of men this church may be found.

But I presume, the Catechist foresaw this would be a dangerous undertaking, and might prove fatal to his church, if none of the external marks of the true one should be found to belong to her. I shall therefore do it for him, or rather St. Austin shall do it for us both.

This holy doctor writes thus against the Marichees. "Not to speak of that wisdom, which you do not believe to be in the Catholic church, there are many other things, which most justly hold me in her communion. 1. The agreement of people and nations holds me. 2. Authority begun with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, confirmed by antiquity, holds me. 3. A succession of bishops from the see of St. Peter, to whom Christ after his resurrection committed his flock, to the present episcopacy holds me. 4. And lastly, the very name of Catholic holds me, of which this church alone has not without reason so kept the possession, that though all heretics desire to be called Catholics, yet if a stranger asks them where Catholics meet, no heretic dares point out his own house or his own church." *Con. Epist. Fund. c.* 4.

These were the external marks, by which St. Austin distinguished the true Catholic church from false ones, and which held him steadfast in her communion. viz, 1. The agreement of people and nations. 2. The evidence of miracles. 3. A continued succession of bishops from St. Peter, the first bishop of Rome to him, who then sat in the apostolic chair. And 4. The name of Catho-

be attributed to the true church by the creed itself. Let us now see to what church these marks can be appropriated.

The first, viz. the agreement of people and nations may justly be called the distinctive mark of the church in communion with the see of Rome. For though all nations never were in her communion at one and the same time, yet there is scarce a nation in the known world but has been in her communion some time or other. All the reformed nations in Europe were in her communion for many hundred years: and so was the whole Greek church until the middle of the ninth century. In St. Austin's time, though there were yet many heathen nations, there was scarce a Christian nation under the sun but was in her communion. Nay, excepting Muscovy alone, which received its christianity from the schismatical Greeks, I cannot call to mind any one people or nation, which upon its conversion was not immediately united in faith and communion with the see of Rome. Now, I presume, no reformed church will pretend to any thing like this. It is therefore evident to common sense, that the agreement of people and nations, which is St. Austin's first external mark of the true church, cannot according to his meaning, be appropriated to any but the church of Rome.

I add, that even at this time, when so many churches are cut off from her by heresy and schism, her communion alone is more extended than any one, I might say than all the different reformed churches joined together. If the Catechist had but coolness of temper enough to consider this one thing, he would perhaps have had more moderation than to treat such an illustrious body, as Roman Catholics have always been and continue to this day, in so outrageous a manner as to set forth the religion they profess in the scurrilous epithets, of a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind and blasphemous religion. Perhaps he imagined the filthier the dirt was he threw at Papists, and the thicker he heaped it upon them, the more it would please. I hope, however, he is mistaken in his aim.

The second mark, viz. the evidence of miracles, belongs also in so peculiar a manner to the church of Rome, that no Protestant communion ever had the confidence to lay claim to it. On the contrary, most Protestants have thought it their best way to despise and ridicule miracles, just as the fox in the fable pretended the grapes were sour, when he could not come at them.

But the third mark, viz. a perpetual succession of bishops and pastors derived from the apostles never was denied to the church of Rome by any man of learning. Nay, Protestant bishops and parsons lay no claim to any such succession but by the church of Rome. Because without the interposition of a long catalogue of Popish bishops to make up their ecclesiastical pedigree, there is a gap of near one thousand five hundred years between the apostles and the first Protestant bishop or parson that ever was in the

world. However even that will not render them any substantial service. For supposing the validity of their ordination, which, yet was never granted, unless they can also bring down their mission in a lineal descent from the apostles, and can shew that Protestants have within their own communion a continued succession of it from them (which is somewhat more than they ever pretended to,) their church will never be admitted into the apostolical family.

Section III.

OF CATHOLICITY.

Lastly, Catholicity, which is the fourth mark of the true church, insisted upon by St. Austin, and is professed in the creed as an essential part of her character, belongs to the church in communion, with the bishop of Rome by so unquestionable a title, that no heretics (as St Austin observes) ever had the confidence to dispute it with her in his time. Nor could any of the present reformed churches ever get the possession of it, though some of them have endeavoured with their utmost power. For truth and good sense have always prevailed in spite of all their efforts. Nay, go to what country you please, where there is a mixture of Roman Catholics and Protestants, we are as well known by the name of Catholics, as a spade is known by the name of spade. I know this to be true in Holland by my own experience, where, if a stranger asks a Protestant, where the Catholic church is, he will never direct him to his own church, but to some Popish chapel. Now if Papists be truly Catholics, I am sure of two things: 1st, that the church in communion with the see of Rome is the church of Christ upon earth: and, 2dly, that she is the only true church upon earth. Or else the creed, which describes the true church of Christ to be One and Catholic, is false.

But why cannot the reformed churches pretend to be Catholics, as well as the church of Rome? I shall give the reason as briefly and as clearly as is possible. The word Catholic is derived from the Greek, and signifies universal. Now there is a two-fold universality belonging to the church of Christ: viz. universality of time, and universality of place, and therefore, no church can assume to herself the title of Catholic, unless she can shew that the faith she professes is universal both as to time and place.

Here, then, let us us consider, whether (for example) the faith of the church of England (as it differs from Popery) can be called universal either as to time or place. The church's universality in respect of place must certainly be understood in a limited sense, of

it will follow, that Christ never had a Catholic church upon earth : because there never yet was a time, wherein her communion was so universally received by the whole world, but that great numbers of heretics, and many heathen nations were out of it. Yet in scripture language she is stiled the church of all nations. Thus St. Paul. *Col.* i, 5, 6, says, the truth of the gospel is come to you, as it is in all the world. And so he applies to the apostles that of the psalmist, "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world. *Rom.* x. 18. The church of Christ is therefore called Catholic or universal, 1st, because she has been at all times since the apostles, the church of many nations. 2dly, because she is the great body of christians, from which all went forth, And, 3dly, because she either has been, or will be in every nation, before the end of the world ; that so all nations may be blessed in the seed of Abraham, according to God's promise, *Gen.* xxii. 17, 18.

This is the true meaning of the church's universality in respect of place. But her universality in respect of time is without limitation. That is, it suffices not that she be the church of many ages, as the Nestorians and Eutychians have been ever since the middle of the fifth century : but it imports, that she is the church of all ages, since the time of the apostles, and derived originally from them both as to her faith and communion. Whence it follows, that Catholics, truly so called, are the standing body of Christians throughout all ages, from which all Christian societies of heretics and schismatics have been cut off, as so many branches from the body of a tree, which continues standing and growing, whatever branches are lopped from it.

Now let us see, whether the reformed church of England can make good her universality, either of time or place. Is she in the communion of that great body of Christians, from which all heretics and schismatics went forth ever since the time of the apostles : alas ! she herself broke off from it a little before the middle of the sixteenth century ! can she be stiled the church of all nations ? she, I say, who little more than one hundred and fifty years ago, was not the church of any one nation in the world ? has her faith, contained in the thirty-nine articles, been preached in France, Italy, Spain, Greece, &c., or any other nation under the sun, but what belongs to the crown of Great Britain ? no man is so weak as to say it has. It is then a plain case, she has no universality of place, even in the limited sense, in which I have explained it.

Again, as to what we call universality of time (which as I have remarked, comprehends all ages from the apostles down to us) she may as well pretend to have received the system of her whole faith and religion, by a continued succession of pastors (within the limits of her own communion) from Noah, as from the apostles. For now is it possible she should, since Popery was in possession of the whole kingdom for nine hundred years before the reformation ? Nay, the book of Homilies declares, that whole Christendom was

drowned in Popery, during all that space of time. Where, then, was the faith of the reformed church of England in all those ages? by what external body or society of men was it possessed? I know the Catechist tells us, it was in the Bible doctrinally, and (in its fruits) in the hearts and lives of all good men. But I hope he has no reason to be proud of his answer. Finally, where was her succession or Protestant bishops for so many hundred years, before the Protestant religion had a being? was she a Christian church, and yet in no part of Christendom? for I am sure in Christendom she could not be, because all Christendom was over-run with Popery, even our enemies being judges. The plain truth then of the matter is, she had no being at all before the sixteenth century: and she wants about one thousand five hundred years of universality of time. So that in effect, Protestants may as well stile themselves Antediluvians as call themselves Catholics.

For what has been said it follows very plainly, that it is no error to hold, that the church in communion with the see of Rome, is the only true church. For the Catholic church cannot but be the true church, and if she be the true church, there can be no other true one, *Eph.* iv. 4, 5.

If any one flies for refuge to an invisible church, (as I suspect the Catechist looks very wishfully that way, though he did not think fit to speak out,) I must conclude he is in great distress: and I advise him as a friend, rather to give up the cause with a good grace, than to make such a trifling defence. For an invisible church is just what every body pleases. It may be the Fanatics' church, the Anabaptists' church, the Quakers' church, and every body's church, that will but lay claim to it: and he may trace it as easily to Noah, or Adam as to the apostles. But whosoever's church it is, I am very sure it is not the church of Christ, which is described in holy writ to be a "mountain upon the top of mountains, to which all nations will come, *Isa.* ii. 2. And in which there are always to be visible pastors. *Eph.* iv. 11, 12. and a visible administration of the word and sacraments, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. So that, if the scriptures be true, a perpetual visibility is an essential attribute of the church of Christ. And it follows from it. 1st. That no society of men can be the true church which has not had in its own communion a visible succession of bishops and pastors in every age from the apostles to us. And, 2dly, That Protestants, whether you mean any one branch, or altogether, cannot be the true church of Christ, because they were no where visible for many hundred years. As St. Austin told the Donatists; you are not in the mountains of Sion, because you are not a city set upon a hill, which has this certain mark, that it cannot be hidden, *Lib. contra literas Petil.* c. 104.

ARTICLE VII.

OF THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

The seventh pretended error of Papists is, their praying to saints and angels, p. 12.

ANSWER.

We pray no otherwise to saints and angels than Protestants pray to one another, when they desire their friends to pray for them ; or, than St. Paul prayed to the Thessalonians, when he desired a share in their prayers, 1 Thess. v. 25, &c. So that the whole question between us and Protestants (if fairly stated) is precisely this, viz. whether it be not as lawful to desire the saints and angels in Heaven to pray for us, as it was for St. Paul to desire the Christians upon earth to pray for him ?

However, our bold Catechist pronounces peremptorily, that praying to saints and angels is a dangerous corruption of holy worship, and abominable in the sight of God, *p. 12*, and he proves it thus ; because it is absurd and ridiculous, *ibid.* Who will not admire the strength of this reason ? However let us see, whether the thing in question deserves the hard words, this gentleman gives it.

First, it is, I think, an uncontested truth, that the doctrine and practice of invoking the saints and angels, was introduced into Great Britain, together with christianity, and maintained in it without any change for nine hundred years before the reformation. If therefore it be true, what the Catechist tells us, that it is abominable in the sight of God, and absurd and ridiculous in itself, it follows, that all our British ancestors, among whom there were many eminent for piety and learning, were notwithstanding for so many ages, together not only fools and idiots, but what is worse, lived and died in a damnable state: as being all guilty of a practice, which, according to our Catechist, is abominable in the sight of God. I hope, however, he will find but few rash enough to maintain such an extravagance.

But 2dly, the practice is yet more ancient, I will not trouble the reader with quotations from the fathers, which are endless ; but only produce the testimony of some eminent Protestant writers, bearing witness to the truth of what I say.

Dr. Fulk (in his rejoinder to Bristow, *p. 5.*) says, I confess that Ambrose, Austin, and Jerome, held it to be lawful.

Chemnitius. a learned Lutheran, maintains, that the invocation of saints was brought into public assemblies about the year three hundred and seventy by St. Basil, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, in Exam. Conc. Trid. part 3, *p. 200.*

To omit many others, Mr. Thorndike writes thus : " it is con-

“fessed (says he) that the lights both of the Greek and Latin church, St. Basil, St. Gregory, Nazianzen, St. Gregory, Nyssen, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, St. Fulgentius, St. Gregory the great, St. Leo, and more, rather all after that time have spoken to the saints, and desired their assistance: “*In Epil, part 3. p. 358.*”

Now will the Catechist have the boldness to say that all these great and holy men both taught and practised a thing. that is abominable in the sight of God, and absurd and ridiculous in the judgment of men? If he does, he must then maintain, that all these great lights and pillars of the church, whom the whole Christian world has ever held in veneration, both for their holiness and learning; he must maintain, I say, that they were all abominable in the sight of God; and that by consequence they were all damned; unless they retracted their doctrine before they died, which no man ever said they did.

3dly, I take it to be a principle not only grounded on the word of God, but even granted by Protestants, that the angels and saints in Heaven pray for the church militant upon earth. I prove that it is grounded upon the word of God.

1. From Zachary i. 12, where the angel prayed thus. “Then the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Juda, against which thou hast had indignation these three score and ten years?”

2. From this maxim of St. Paul, viz. “that charity never ceaseth;” 1 Cor. xiii. 8. Nay, without dispute it not only remains, but is increased in Heaven. And therefore, if charity even in this world, obliges us to be solicitous, and pray for one another’s salvation, surely the angels and saints in Heaven, whose charity surpasses ours by many degrees, cannot fail of performing their part, in sending up their prayers to the throne of grace, for those who are yet combating in the warfare of this mortal life, and uncertain of their future state.

3. From Psalm xci. 11, 12. “he shall give his angels charge over thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone,” Now, surely, those heavenly spirits, whom God has appointed to take care of us, cannot be so unconcerned for the persons under their charge, as not to offer up their prayers for them.

I prove, likewise, that it is a principle granted by Protestants.

1. The bishop of Oxford, in his edition of St. Cyprian, p 291, writes thus: “we do not doubt (says he) but the saints in Heaven “pray earnestly to God, that he may shew his mercy to those that “live here.”

2. Mr. Thorndike discourses thus: all members of the Church triumphant in Heaven, according to their degree of favour with

God. abound also with love to his church militant on earth. Therefore it is certain, both, that they offer up continual prayers to God for its necessities, and that their prayers must be of great force and effect with God, for the assistance of the church militant in her warfare. Whence he infers, as I shall do immediately, "that the living ought to beg of God a part and interest in those prayers, which they, who are so near to God in his kingdom, tender to him without ceasing for the church upon earth. (Just Weights and Measures.) c. 16. p 107.

3. Bishop Montague writes thus: "I see no absurdity in nature, nor incongruity as to the analogy of faith, no repugnance at all to sacred scripture much less impiety for any man to say, holy angel guardian pray for us." (Treatise of Invocation of Saints p. 97.)

Lastly, the church of England has this collect upon the day of St. Michael and all angels. "O everlasting God, who has ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order, mercifully grant, that as thy holy angels always do thee service in Heaven, so by thy appointment they may succour and defend us on earth, &c. Here the church of England prays for succour and defence from the angels. And I presume one way the angels have of succouring us, is by their prayers; which, by consequence, must likewise be granted of the saints; for in this they are both upon the same parallel.

Now from this principle, viz. that the angels and saints pray for the church militant upon earth, I infer, that it must certainly be good and profitable for every particular Christian to beg a share in their prayers. So that the whole question concerning the invocation of saints and angels is fully decided by a principle not only grounded on the word of God, but agreed to by Protestants themselves.

Objections Answered.

Well, let us hear, at least, what the Catechist has to say against us. He tells us, first, that we cannot be sure they are real saints to whom we pray. With his good leave we may have a moral certainty or a prudent conviction of it, which suffices. But he adds, that the Pope has canonized many wicked men; to which I return this short answer, that it must be a very bad cause, which cannot be supported without slander.

He tells us, 2dly, that to pray to saints is idolatrous. I answer, 1. then all those great and holy men of the primitive ages just now reckoned up by Mr. Thorndike were idolators; which is strange news indeed; but it wants confirmation. I answer, 2. If desiring a part in the prayers of saints in Heaven be idolatrous, then surely the prayers of sinful men upon earth, is still a worse sort of idolatry. And so all members of the church of England,

who recommend themselves to one another's prayers, are guilty of a grosser idolatry than what Papists are accused of

He tells us, 3dly, that it has no warrant from the word of God, but is forbidden. For which he quotes this text, "him only shalt thou serve," *Matt.* iv. 10. Here the poor gentleman is so hard put to it for a text, that I am really in pain for him. For is not this a most admirable consequence, Christ said to Satan, "him only shalt thou serve," therefore the scripture forbids us to desire the prayers of saints and angels! I shall make bold to infer another consequence full as good, viz. Therefore the scripture forbids us to desire the prayers of one another. But a man must have very bad eyes, who can see no difference between begging a share in a man's prayers, and paying divine worship to him.

As to what he says, that we have no warrant from the word of God for it, I have already shewed the contrary. However I should be glad to know, what warrant the Church of England has from the word of God for keeping one holyday for all the saints in general, and another for St. Michael and all the angels?

He tells us, 4thly, that the angels refuse to be prayed to, and for this he quotes, *Rev.* xxii. 9. But this text has no more relation to the subject in question, than to the building of the tower of Babel.

He tells us, 5thly, that the saints cannot hear out prayers: for which he quotes *Isaias* saying, "Abraham is ignorant of us," *Isa.* lxiii. 16. But how this text is put upon the rack to make it speak in favour of a blunder! for in the days of *Isaias* there were no saints in Heaven; because mankind was not yet redeemed. I answer therefore that the true meaning of *Isaias* (according to St. Jerome) is, that Abraham will not own wicked *Israelites* to be his children, *Jer. in C.* 63. *Isa.* in which our Saviour will say to the reprobate, "verily, I know you not," *Matt.* xxv. 12.

I answer again, that it is blasphemy to say, that God cannot make our prayers known to the saints, so is it a groundless and precarious guess to say he does not do it. For why should the saints be kept in ignorance of what passes in this world any more than the angels? of whom it is said, "that they rejoice over a sinner that repenteth," *Luke* xv. 7, which therefore they must certainly know.

Lastly, he tells us, it is injurious to the meditation of Christ: for which he quotes 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. "There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ." And again, "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." 1 *John* ii. 1. But does not the Catechist see, that if desiring the prayers of saints be injurious to the mediatorship of Christ, then St. Paul was injurious to it, when he desired so often the prayers of his friends? Every one, therefore, that is but well instructed in his catechism, knows, that though there is but one mediator of redemption (of which St. Paul speaks

in the text quoted) yet all that pray for us, may improperly be called mediators of prayer or intercession. I say improperly; because there is only one (to wit, Jesus Christ,) who can have immediate access to God for us, whether saints in heaven, or men upon earth, must see the mediation of Christ, when they offer their prayers to God; which fully answers the text from St. John.

Hence bishop Montague made no difficulty to write thus. 'I do not deny, (says he) but the saints are mediators, as they call them, of prayer and intercession. They interpose with God by their supplications, and mediate by their prayers;' in *Antid.* p. 20. And again, in his Treatise of *Invoc.* p. 118, he writes thus: 'I own Christ is not wronged in his mediation: it is no impiety to say, (as Papists do) holy Mary pray for us.'

But if any one asks, what need there is to desire the saints to pray for us, since Christ's mediation is all-sufficient? I answer, it may as well be asked, what need there is to pray ourselves, or for one another? but as the satisfaction of Christ, though all-sufficient, must be applied to us by prayer and good works, so likewise his mediation. In effect, whatever we beg of God, or others beg for us, we only hope to obtain it through the mediation of Jesus Christ: and the true reason that moves us to desire the saints to pray for us, is the very same that moved St. Paul to desire the prayers of his absent friends, viz. that God may have the honour, and we the profit of more prayers than our own.

In a word, it is impossible to give a solid reason, why desiring the prayers of the saints in heaven, is more injurious to Christ's mediatorship, than the prayers of men upon earth? and I insist upon it as a thing manifest to common sense, that either both are lawful or both unlawful. If both be unlawful, then Protestants are as guilty as Papists. But if both be lawful, then they, who seduce the people by persuading them that our invocation of saints is both idolatrous, and injurious to Christ's mediatorship, are guilty of a most grievous injustice, which they never can answer either to God or man.

I will end this subject with an objection, which I should really blush to answer seriously, were it not that I have found by experience, that the generality of women and children are wonderfully effected with it. The objection is grounded upon these words of Christ, "come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," *Matt.* xi. 28. Whence they conclude, that since Christ commands all to come to him, it is unlawful to have recourse to the prayers of saints and angels. This is the wretched argument with which so many are misled!

I answer therefore, that the heart of a Christian in all its prayer speaks to God, and expects no blessings from him but through Jesus Christ. Nay, the very essence of prayer is a raising up of the heart and mind to God. We are then so far from violating the command of Christ, by desiring to have the prayers of his saints

joined with ours, that we may not only come to God ourselves, but wish that many more may do the same with us.

Besides, if desiring the saints to pray for us, be contrary to the command of Christ, by desiring the faithful to pray for us, is no less contrary to it? and therefore, as it would be absurd to charge Protestants with a breach of Christ's command, for desiring their friends to pray for them, so it is no less absurd to charge us with a breach of Christ's command, for desiring the saints to pray for us.

ARTICLE VIII.

OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

The eighth pretended error of Papists is, Transubstantiation, p. 23.

ANSWER.

By transubstantiation, as it regards the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, we mean nothing else but the change of the bread and wine into the true and real body and blood of Christ, made by the words of consecration. But we deny this to be an error; nay, nothing is more evident, than that is the doctrine of the ancient fathers. I shall only quote a few out of many to avoid being tedious.

First, St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, writes thus: "since therefore Christ himself does thus affirm and say of the bread, 'this is my body,' who from henceforward dares he so bold as to doubt of it? And since the same does assure us and say, 'this is my blood,' who, I say, can doubt of it, and say it is not his blood? In Cana of Galilee, he once with his sole will turned water into wine, which much resembles blood, and does he not deserve to be believed, that he changed wine into blood."—*Catec. Myst.*

2dly, St. Gregory, Nyssen, writes thus: "I do therefore now rightly believe, that the bread sanctified by the word of God is changed into the body of God the Word." And again soon after, here (says he) likewise the bread (as the apostle says) 'is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.' Not so, that by being eaten it becomes the body of the Word, but because it is suddenly changed into his body by this word, 'this is my body'—And this is effected by the virtue of benediction, by which the nature of those things, which appear, are transelemented into it." [*In orat Catech. C. 37. T. 3. Edit. Par.*]

3dly, St. Chrysostom sets forth this truth in the following manner: [*Hom. 38. in Matt.*] "let us always (says he) believe God, and not contradict him, though that which he says seems to contradict both our thoughts, and our senses.—For his word cannot deceive us, but our senses may easily be deceived. He never

errs, but we are often mistaken. Since therefore he says, 'this is my body,' let us be fully persuaded of it."

And in the same Homily he writes thus: "the things we propose are not done by human power. He that wrought these things at his last supper, is the author of what is done here. We hold but the place of ministers; but he that sanctifies and changes them is Christ himself."

I appeal here to the judgment and sincerity of any unbiassed reader, whether these three Greek fathers do not deliver the doctrine of transubstantiation, as clearly and strongly as any Roman Catholics can now do. I omit a multitude of quotations of the same force, and will only add one from St Ambrose, a Latin father, to shew the unanimous agreement of antiquity in this doctrinal point. His words are remarkably plain.

4thly, "Perhaps, (says he) you may tell me I see another thing—I must therefore prove that what you receive is not that, which nature framed, but that, which the benediction has consecrated; and that the benediction has a greater force than nature. Moses held a rod in his hand, he threw it down, and it was made a serpent. Again, he took hold of the serpent, and it returned into the nature of a rod. The rivers of Egypt ran with streams of pure water, when presently blood gushed forth out of the fountain-vein, there was no water in the rivers. And again by the prayer of Moses the blood ceased, and the nature of waters returned." To these he adds other miracles: as, that when Moses held up his rod the sea opened a passage for the Israelites: that Jordan ran back: that Moses brought water out of the rock by striking it: and that Elias made Iron swim upon the water, contrary to its nature. Then he goes on thus:

"We see therefore that grace is stronger than nature. Now if a man's blessing could change the course of nature, what do we think of the divine consecration itself, in which the very words of our Saviour operates? for the sacrament which you received is made by the words of Christ. And if Elias's words were able to draw fire from Heaven, will not the words of Christ be able to change the nature of the elements? "He said and they were made, he commanded and they were created," Psalm cxliii. 5. Is not then the word of Christ, which could give a being to that which had none, able to change those things which are, into what they were not before? for it is not less to give new natures to things, than to change their natures." *Lib. de initiatis.*

Thus the ancient fathers give testimony for the doctrine of transubstantiation, and are authentic witnesses that it was the public faith of the church in her purest times. For they never were accused of any error against faith, which censure they could not have escaped, had they been guilty of broaching any doctrine contrary to the known faith of the universal church. Whence it is plain, that they taught no other doctrine, than what they had re-

ceived by a constant tradition from the apostles. For otherwise they would undoubtedly have been publicly censured for introducing novelties into the church, and that in a matter of such importance.

SECT. II.

Transubstantiation proved from Scriptures.

The Catechist having put the question, what scripture we alledge for this doctrine? answers it for us, that we alledge the words of Christ *John* vi. 50, 51, &c. Very right, for our Saviour says there expressly, "that bread which I give is my flesh," 51. And "my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;" 55. Which words contain a promise or prediction of the divine legacy he intended to bequeath to his apostles and the whole church at his last supper.

But with the Catechist's good leave, besides this text we have also other convincing proofs. As 1st, the words of St. Paul, "the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" 2dly, the words of the institution, viz. "this is my body, this is my blood;" which manifestly imply a change of the bread and wine into his body and blood: provided we will but allow that Christ spoke truth, and did not express himself absurdly.

To proceed gradually, I shall first prove, that they imply a real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood. For after that we need not have recourse to the good common sense to infer the doctrine of transubstantiation.

That they import a real and substantial presence, I prove first. because all propositions like these, this is bread: this is a man, &c. (unless you speak of pictures, or resemblances, which is not the present case) are in all common discourse as currently understood of the reality and substance of the things specified, as if the words really and substantially were added. Nay a man would be laughed at for a formal cautious coxcomb, if pointing to a loaf of bread he should say, this is bread really and substantially: or, coming from court (for example,) he should tell me he had seen the king really and substantially. Because there is no difference between a thing, and its reality and substance. In like manner, therefore, when Christ said, "this is my body," he declared as effectually that it was the reality or substance of his body, as if he had expressed it in the most formal terms. this is the common language of mankind. All wise men speak so, and all wise men understand it so. And if any man should pretend to mean otherwise, he would deservedly pass for a notorious equivocator, that says one thing and means another.

I prove it, 2dly, if Christ gave not his real body, but a morsel of bread to his apostles when he said, "take and eat, this is my body," then it follows that he called a morsel of bread his body; which cannot be maintained without making Christ guilty of a downright absurdity. For nothing can be more absurd, than to hold a morsel of common bread in a man's hands, and pointing to it say, this is the living body of a man; it being contrary to the common practice of mankind and the common laws of speech, to call one by the name of another, with which it has no manner of resemblance, or connection; and that too, without giving the persons to whom it is spoken, the least intimation to serve as a key to let them into the true meaning of such an extraordinary and unheard-of manner of speech.

I prove it, 3dly, a sober man would be ashamed on any serious occasion to use a deceitful way of speaking, so as to call a thing by a name it was never known of before. As, for example, to take up a piece of brick and say, this is a diamond. It is therefore incredible that Christ, who could say nothing unbecoming himself, should use this deceitful way of speaking in the most solemn action of his life; when he was fulfilling the types and figures of the old law, declaring his last will and testament, and bequeathing a sacred legacy to his church for ever.

Lastly, I prove it from the doctrine of the church of England, as it is delivered in her own church-catechism, which is printed in all books of common prayer, and has the whole authority of that church to recommend it. Now, in this catechism, to the question, "what is the inward part or thing signified?" it is answered, "the body and blood of Christ, which is verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper."

This, then, is the doctrine of the church of England, which expresses the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament as fully as any Papist can do: for if *verily* and *indeed* be not the same as really and truly, and of full force to exclude a mere figurative presence, I confess I am yet wholly ignorant of the signification even of the most ordinary words; and it will be impossible to know what men mean, even when they deliver themselves in the plainest terms. So that it must either be owned, that the words of Christ's institution import a real and substantial presence of his body and blood, even according to Protestant doctrine, or we must suppose the church of England guilty of a most scandalous equivocation in so serious a matter; and say, she only makes use of the words *verily* and *indeed* to impose upon ignorant people, and make plain bread and wine go down the better.

Now, to come to the principal point in question, I leave it to common sense to decide, whether there must not be a change of the bread and wine, if the words of Christ's institution import a real and substantial presence of his body and blood? for if this be granted, they either must be changed, or they must remain together

with his body and blood, as Lutherans hold : but this is certainly inconsistent with the obvious meaning of the words of Christ.— I prove it thus. If Christ, taking the bread into his hands, had said, here is my body, I own it would not be inconsistent with the obvious meaning of his words, to say that the bread and body of Christ are joined together in the sacrament? but Christ did not say, here is my body, but, this is my body, which nothing but a substantial change of the bread into his body can make really and literally true. Because the word, *this*, points precisely at what the apostles saw : which if it continued bread after, as it was before the words of consecration, the proposition was absolutely false : because the sense of it then was, that the bread he gave to his apostles was his body, which implies a contradiction ; and if as impossible as that any two substances remaining different should be the same.

But let us now see what the Catechist sets down for Protestant doctrine, *p.* 23. He reduces it to three heads. 1. That Christ blessed the bread and wine therefore did not destroy it. What trifling stuff is this ! what, if Christ blessed the water at Cana, in Galilee, and with his blessing changed it into wine, does it follow from thence, that the water still remained ?

2. He would have us believe, there is nothing in the sacrament but bread and wine, I answer, this may be Zuinglian Protestancy, but it is not the Protestancy of the church of England, whose Catechism (which surely is a Protestant one) teaches positively, that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

3. That the apostle himself does no less than thrice call it bread and wine after the consecration, *1 Cor.* xi. 26, 27, 28. To which I answer, that nothing is more common even in familiar discourse, than to call a thing by the name of that, out of which it is made, or from which it is changed. Thus it was said to Adam, *Gen.* iii. 19. "dust thou art:" because though then a living man, he had been made of dust. In like manner the serpent, that was made by a substantial change from Aron's rod, is still called a rod in scripture, because changed from it : "they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents ; but Aron's rod swallowed up their rods," *Exod.* vii. 12. Again, nothing is more familiar than to name things from the appearance which they have to our senses. The scripture itself says, "behold there stood a man over against him," *Jos.* v. 13. Yet in the same place we are told he was not really a man, but the 'captain of the Lord's host,' that is, an angel. So St. Mark assures us, that the women 'entering into the sepulchre saw a young man,' xvi. 5. But he had only the name, because he appeared so. For he was not really a young man, but an angel : *Matt.* xxviii. 5. Thus also is the common way of speaking to say, I saw a dead man exposed, though it be not then a man, but a mere carcass. In like manner, therefore, the body

of Christ in the sacrament is by a proper and familiar figure called bread by St. Paul, because it is changed from bread, has to our senses the likeness of bread, and nourishes the soul as bread nourishes the body. If you ask what this consecrated bread is? our Saviour tells you; *John* vi. 51. "the bread that I will give is my flesh." St. Paul tells you, *1 Cor.* x. 16. "it is the communion of the body of Christ." Nay, we ourselves call it the holy bread of eternal life in the Mass after consecration; yet I hope nobody will infer from thence, that we do not believe transubstantiation.

SECT. III.

Objections Answered.

But here the Catechist adds three reasons more against transubstantiation. 1. Because (says he) it takes away the great evidence of the first witnesses of Christianity. That is, if it be not true bread and wine but the body and blood of Christ, which we receive in the sacrament, it follows that our senses are deceived; and by consequence the apostles could not be sure they saw Christ work any miracles, which takes away the great evidence of Christianity.

This objection, so highly magnified by some of our adversaries, must either suppose, that we must never trust our eyes or any of our senses, unless we may always trust them: or that our senses must always be trusted, when they give us jointly the best information they are capable of. The first of these suppositions is contrary both to reason and religion, nay even to experience, and to our senses themselves. For all these correct the errors of sense, if I may be allowed that way of speaking. The sun appears to our eyes scarce bigger than a span, and the fixed stars a great deal less. But reason tells us they may be greater than the earth. A straight stick, if you put the end of it under water, will appear crooked. But take it out, and your eyes will discover their own mistake. The two disciples going to Emmaus had Jesus in their company, they both heard him and saw him; yet took him for another, because "their eyes were held, that they should not know him," *Luke* xxiv. 16. At length even by their senses they found they had been mis-informed; for soon after "their eyes were opened, and they knew him;" 31. but because their sight had deceived them on this occasion, were they never to trust to it any more? were they not to believe that they had seen any miracles of Christ? St. Mary Magdalen, was deceived in the same manner; she saw Jesus, yet knew not that it was he, and supposed him to be the gardener, *John* xx. 14, 15. But she was not to believe her eyes when she fell at his feet? *Matt.* xxviii. 9. when she "told the

disciples that she had seen the Lord?" *John* xx. 18. when she saw him nailed to the cross, *Matt.* xxvii. 55. and laid in the tomb? 61.

The second supposition, to wit, that our senses must always be trusted, is equally false. For 1st, the two disciples going to Emmaus had the joint information both of their eyes and ears; yet I hope they might be sure and faithful witnesses of Christ's miracles.

2dly, Joshua's eyes deceived him when he said to the angel, "art thou for us or for our adversaries?" *Jos.* v. 13. And all his senses might then have been under the same mistake. But was he not to trust his eyes, when he saw the sun stand still, the walls of Jericho tumble down, the waters of Jordan rise up in heaps, and so many other miracles done both by Moses and himself?

3dly, When St. Peter was rescued out of prison, he "knew for certain that God had sent his angel, and had delivered him out of the hands of Herod;" *Acts* xii. 11. Here then is a fact, in which he both believed and disbelieved the information of his senses.—Had he believed them as to the person of his guide (whom he saw, heard, and felt, when he struck him on the side) he must have judged him to be a man, not an angel. In this then he found his senses were mistaken. Yet he still believed his eyes, and had nothing but his eyes to trust to that he saw two miracles wrought in his favour, viz. the falling off of his chains, and the iron gates opening of its own accord.

4thly, If God had said to the holy women as they went to the sepulchre, "you shall meet one there, who to all your senses will appear to be a man and yet is none:" or to the apostles before the last supper. "You shall eat and drink that which will seem to be bread and wine but in reality is not so;" would it follow, that if they had believed him they must have renounced the use of their senses for ever? To say that God is not to be believed, is blasphemy. And to say, that if they believe him in this, they must renounce their senses in all other matters, is madness.

It is therefore false, that without believing in every thing, when they give us the best information they can, we must believe them in nothing. It is false to say, that if we do not judge of bread and wine in the sacrament by the information of our senses, the apostles could not be sure they ever saw Christ work any miracles, or that the sensible grounds of Christianity are shaken. For God having given us senses to direct our judgment, we ought to rely on their information, unless either our senses themselves, or reason or faith correct their mistake. And if reason may ever be allowed to over-rule their mis-information, we cannot surely refuse to pay the same deference to the revelation of God, when it tells us that such or such a thing is what it appears to be to our senses. In fine, since we have so many instances of this in the scripture; as it is ridiculous to say, we must believe our senses in nothing, so it is impious to say we must believe them in every thing.

The Catechist's second reason is, that Christ said, "this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me," 1 Cor. xi. 24. I answer, that the first part is explained by St. Paul's disciple, St. *Luke*, xxii. 19. "This is my body which is given for you." The Latin version has it; "this is my body, which shall be given for you." But the sense is the same. The second part only proves, that the sacrament is a memorial of Christ's death and passion: which is undoubtedly true.

His third reason against transubstantiation is, "because it will not allow men the privilege of beasts, to judge by their senses of seeing, smelling, tasting, &c. I answer, it will not allow men the privilege of Atheists to trust their senses rather than the express word of God. But enough has been said of this,

ARTICLE IX.

OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

The ninth pretended error of the Papists is, the doctrine of the Mass.

A N S W E R.

By the word Mass we understand the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ offered to God in an unbloody manner by the hands of the priests; or what amounts to the same, an external oblation made to God of the body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine. Now it is manifest by the most ancient records of Christianity, by innumerable testimonies of the holy fathers ever since the time of the apostles; by the ancient liturgies of all nations, Latins, Greeks, Nestorians, Arminians, Ethiopians, Cophtes, Goths, &c. and even by the confession of Protestants themselves, (for which you may see Dr. Field, *B. 3. of the church, ch. 19. p. 107.*) that the Holy Eucharist has always been used in the church, not only as a sacrament, but also as a sacrifice instituted by Christ at his last supper. For proof whereof the ancient Greek and Latin fathers, St. Justin and St. Irenæus in the second age, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustin in the fourth, alledge the words of God in the prophet Malachy as they read them: "from the rising of the sun to the going down of it, my name is great among the gentiles, and in every place is sacrificed and offered to my name a clean oblation," *Mal. i. 11.*

For a farther proof of it these words of the psalmist, 'thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech,' Psalm. xc. 4. are urged by St. Cyprian in the third age: St. Jerom, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustin in the fourth, and

by St. Isidore, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret in the fifth. For as they argue, priests of the order of Aaron sacrificed beasts; but Melchisedech's sacrifice was 'bread and wine,' *Gen.* xiv. 18. a figure of the Holy Eucharist, by the daily offering whereof and the fruits of his passion Christ is a priest for ever.

St. Cyprian calls the blessed Eucharist a 'true and full sacrifice,' *Epist.* 63. St. Augustin, a 'true and sovereign sacrifice,' l. 10. de *Civ. Dei*, c. 20. Eusebius, 'an expiation for all the world,' l. 1. *Dem. Ev.* c. 10. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, 'a spiritual sacrifice, an unbloody worship, a propitiatory victim,' *Cat. Myst.* 5.

But there needs no other proof than what the church of England herself teaches. For if the body and blood of Christ be verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, and consequently by the priest, it must of necessity follow that the priest offers them up verily and indeed upon the altar, and that they are an oblation of mercy. For how can Jesus Christ be unacceptable to his Father? or how can the fruits of his passion be applied more effectually than by his own self-offering?

Nor is the very name of Mass an invention of latter ages.—For thus the Holy sacrifice of the altar was called above thirteen hundred years ago. Witness first, St. Ambrose, who writes thus: 'I continued the office, I began to say Mass,' &c. l. 2. *Epist.* 14. And 2dly, St. Leo whose words are remarkable: 'when the multitude (says he) is so great, that the church cannot hold them all, let there be no difficulty made to offer the sacrifice oftener than once. For some part of the people must of necessity be deprived of their devotion, if following the custom of saying Mass but once, none can offer up the sacrifice but they who come early in the morning.' St. Leo, *Epist.* 11. (*olim.* 81.) *ad Dioscorum*.

Here we have the sacrifice of the Eucharist plainly spoken of, and called by the very name of Mass; first, by St. Ambrose, a father of the fourth age, and 2dly, by St. Leo, who lived in the fifth, and I never heard they were the first to give it that name. But let that be as it will, can our adversaries reflect without some uneasiness of thought, that it is but about a hundred and fifty years ago, when by the sole authority of a secular tribunal it was made high treason in this nation for Christians to perform that very devotion, which was the most solemn worship of God in those ages (when the church's faith was uncorrupted according to their own concession) and which they had received from the apostles themselves.

I add moreover that the church of England is one of the first churches since the creation, that pretended to true priests and altars without an external sacrifice, this being in reality nothing less than a solecism in religion: because a priest is properly one, whose office it is to offer sacrifice, and the altar is the place on which it is offered.

Objections Answered.

Let us now see what the Catechist has to say against it. He says it is a vain and idolatrous thing. Why? because (says he) "by Christ's sacrifice God is sufficiently satisfied, and the repenting sinner fully secured:" for which he quotes the following text; "this man after he had offered one sacrifice for us for ever sat down at the right hand of God," *Heb. x. 12.* I answer, that if this argument proves any thing, it proves likewise that both Christ's mediation for us in Heaven, and the sacraments he has provided for us on earth are also useless. Because God is sufficiently satisfied, and our ransom is fully paid by Christ's sacrifice offered on the cross. Nay, prayer, alms, fasting, self-denials, keeping the commandments, and repentance itself, may all be thrown into the list of vain and idle things. But if all these be both profitable and necessary, because they are ordained by God as means to apply to us the fruits of that bloody sacrifice, by which alone we are redeemed and the divine justice is fully satisfied, then surely Christ's offering himself daily on the altar for the self same end, cannot without blasphemy be called either vain or idolatrous. Indeed we must live in a very unchristian age, wherein worshiping Christ is idolatry.

It is true, he offered himself but once a bloody sacrifice for us, but since he can but once pay the ransom which God demanded: and it is of this sacrifice of redemption St. Paul speaks in the whole chapter quoted by the Catechist. Because he is our high priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech, he offers himself daily for us in an unbloody manner; not to redeem us again, but to apply by this as by other means appointed by him the price of our redemption.

But (says the Catechist) if Christ sits for ever at the right hand of God, how can he be truly present upon our altars? I answer, in the very same manner as his body and blood are verily and indeed taken by the faithful in the Lord's supper. But let St. Chrysostom teach him his lesson, "we always offer (says he) the same Christ. "Therefore the sacrifice is the same. Are there many Christs, because he is offered in many places? no, Christ is every where the same. He is entire here, and entire there, and has but one body; as therefore his body is the same, though offered up in different places, so the sacrifice is the same. He is our high priest, who offered that victim which cleanses us. We now offer the same, which was offered then, and which cannot be consumed." *Hom. 17, in Epist. ad Heb.*

If he asks me whether I pretend to understand, how the same body can be in different places at once; and if not, whether my religion be not a very blind one? I answer, first, when he has explained the six following questions, he shall have full satisfaction. The first query is, how two bodies could be at once in the

very same place by penetration, when Christ came to his disciples 'the doors being shut?' *John* xx. 19. The second is, how his body and blood can be present verily and indeed to one thousand faithful Christians receiving them at the same time in different places? The third is, how the same person can be both God and man?—The fourth is, how there can be three divine persons, and only one God? The fifth is, how God could make all times and places, before there was either place or time to make them in? The sixth is, whether a man's soul be at the same time in distant parts and distant places, as in the right hand and in the left? and whether the soul meets itself, and is separated from itself, when a man joins and parts his hands, &c. Again, whether part of the soul be not bit off and eaten, if a furious dog should snap a man's hand off and eat it? when, I say, he has given a clear and satisfactory answer to these few questions, there will be no difficulty in answering both the question now proposed, and some other very curious ones proposed by him, *p.* 43, 44.

I answer, 2dly, if it be blindness to believe what we do not fully understand, we must necessarily renounce the most material part of the creed. But there is a large difference between understanding the mysteries we believe, and knowing the reasons why we believe them. To believe without reason is blindness: but to believe things, that are above our understanding, is the very nature and essence of Christian faith.

ARTICLE X.

OF COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

The tenth pretended error of Papists is, their denying the use of the cup to the people in the sacrament, to which he adds, that every communicant has an undeniable right to the blessed cup in the Lord's supper, p. 24.

ANSWER.

If the Catechist means that every communicant has an undeniable right to receive Christ's sacred blood as well as his body, I heartily subscribe to it, and assure him that no Catholic communicant ever was deprived of it. But how will he excuse those Protestants, who, by denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament deprive the faithful of both, yet clamour so loud against us as if our laity were wronged in the highest degree? what end can they have in this, but to amuse the people with the pleasing fancy of receiving mighty things more than Papists do? when indeed they are sent away with a sup of wine to their bread,

and with mere empty types and figures instead of the sacred body and blood which Christ bequeathed to them at his last supper.

I therefore desire the reader to take notice here, that if he does not believe, that Christ's body and blood are received verily and indeed, that is really and truly in the Lord's supper, he is not at all concerned in the subject of this article: and all I can do for him is to pray God that he will open his eyes to see, and touch his heart to acknowledge a truth so fully and clearly attested in his sacred word. But if he believes that Christ's body and blood are received verily and indeed, that is really and truly in the Lord's supper, I will demonstrate to him, that communion in one kind deserves nothing of the bitter invectives usually made against it by our Protestant adversaries. Their loud clamours, though altogether unreasonable, are coloured with these two specious and popular pretences, to wit, 1. that communion in one kind defrauds the laity of the sacred blood of Christ. And 2. that it is contrary to his institution and express command. Now if there were any solid ground for either of these objections, I should frankly own the unlawfulness of our practice: but I shall shew as briefly as is possible, that they are wholly groundless, and by consequence extremely injurious to us.

SECT. I.

Communion in one kind does not defraud the laity of the sacred blood of Christ.

First then let us see, whether the laity be defrauded of any thing by receiving the sacrament in one kind only. But what is it they are defrauded of? is the body of Christ without his blood in the Host? or the blood of Christ without his body in the Cup? no Christian is surely capable of entertaining such an extravagant and impious imagination. For if the blood of Christ be really separated from his body upon the altar, then the sacred victim is slain, and Christ dies as really on the altar, as he did on the cross: which is a flat contradiction to this maxim of St. Paul, viz. "that Christ rising from the dead dieth no more," *Rom. vi. 9*. And indeed how is it possible, that Christ whose sacred humanity is now all-glorious, impassible, and immortal, should be still subject to death? or, (which amounts to the same) capable of having his blood really and truly separated from his body.

But, as one absurdity is usually the source of many more, if the people by receiving the sacrament in one kind were defrauded of the blood of Christ, it would likewise follow, that instead of receiving the living body of Christ they receive a dead carcass; and they who drink the cup, would drink dead and inanimate

blood ; nay, in receiving the sacrament in both kinds, they would receive one half of Christ under the form of bread, and the other half under the form of wine : which if it be not most eminently impious and absurd, I know not what is.

Hence it plainly follows that whole Christ is received in either kinds ; and I argue thus from it, Whoever receives whole Christ is not defrauded of his sacred blood ; but they who receive the sacrament in one kind only receive whole Christ, therefore they are not defrauded of his sacred blood ; and by consequence we are falsely accused by our adversaries of giving to the laity a mangled sacrament.

But is not the cup taken away from the laity ? and is not this mangling the sacrament ? I answer, first, that, to speak properly, the cup is not taken away from them, because by the cup is commonly meant the blood of Christ, which is no more taken away from them than his sacred body, from which it is inseparable. I answer, therefore, 2dly, that if by taking away the cup (as Protestants call it) we deprived them of the blood of Christ, it would be a mangled sacrament. But since it is absurd to say they are deprived by it of his sacred blood, it is doing us the greatest wrong to say the sacrament is mangled.

I conclude from what has been said that they, who believe the body and blood of Christ to be taken and received really and truly in the Lord's supper, must either run into the impious extravagance of maintaining that his blood is really separated from his body ; or own that his body and blood being inseparable are conveyed into our stomachs by the action either of eating or of drinking only : and whoever owns this must likewise own first, that communion in one or both kinds is the same as to the things received, and differs only in the manner of receiving. And 2dly, that communion in one kind only does not defraud the laity of any part of the spiritual meal, which Christ has ordained for them. But as to those, who utterly deny the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament, I have nothing more to say to them, than that I neither envy them their bread and wine, nor desire to be a guest at their table.

But St. Paul has laid down another maxim, from which it plainly follows, that communion in one kind only renders us partakers both of the body and blood of Christ. The maxim I speak of is thus delivered by him : "whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," 1 *Cor.* xi. 27. Now if either eating or drinking unworthily suffices to render us guilty both of the body and blood of our Lord, it follows, by an undeniable consequence, that either eating or drinking worthily render us partakers both of his body and blood : and so the unjust clamour concerning our defrauding the laity is fully confuted by St. Paul himself. I add, that his words are no obscure insinuation, that the apostles themselves did not always give the blessed sacrament under both kinds.

I know very well, that to avoid the unanswerable force of this argument, the Protestant translators of the Bible have made bold with this text, by changing *or* into *and* in the text itself; which entirely alters the sense of it. If any one questions the truth of what I say, let him but desire any learned divine to consult the original text, and if he be sincere, he will own I have not wronged the Protestant translators.

SECT. II.

Communion in one kind is not contrary to the institution of Christ, nor a violation of any divine precept.

This is fairly owned by bishop Montague, (a Protestant,) who writes thus: "where does the scripture, says he, command that the people should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper in both kinds? the scripture teaches no such thing, the scripture does not command it." T. 1. *Orig. p.* 396.

The Protestants in France are most certainly of bishop Montague's opinion. For though they generally administer the sacrament in both kinds, and oblige all that can to receive it in that manner, yet, in a synod at Poitiers anno. 1560, they decreed (*Chap. 13. Art. 7.* of the Lord's supper) that the bread of our Lord's supper ought to be administered to those who cannot drink wine: as many in France, by their natural constitution, can neither endure the smell nor taste of it. This, I think, is a good Protestant testimony, that receiving the Communion in one kind is neither sacrilege, nor mangling the sacrament, nor a violation of any divine precept. For if it were, no necessity could excuse it; and they who could not receive both kinds, would be obliged to receive neither the one nor the other.

Nay, Luther himself was most certainly of opinion, that receiving the sacrament either in one or both kinds was a thing indifferent in itself. For he declared, "that if a council should either appoint or permit communion in both kinds, he would in spite of that council receive in one kind, or not at all." *Hist. de Variar. C.* 2. 10.

But to wave other testimonies of this kind, I shall prove the point in question from a principle, which no Protestant can deny, viz. that if communion in one kind were contrary to the institution of Christ, or a violation of any divine precept, the church in her primitive and purest times would never have practised it upon any account whatsoever; because no pretence whatsoever can justify a violation of a divine precept or institution of Christ. If, therefore, it be found that communion in one kind was frequently practised by the primitive church, I take it to be a demonstrative proof, that receiving the sacrament in both kinds has been always regarded by the church, not as a duty commanded by Christ, but as a matter of discipline only.

Now there are three undeniable facts, which prove that communion in one kind was practised even by the primitive church, 1. In the communion of infants, who were allowed to drink of the cup without receiving the consecrated Host, *Cypr. de Lapsis*. 2. in domestic communion; the faithful being permitted, by reason of the persecutions, to carry with them consecrated hosts which they could easily keep in their houses in order to receive the sacrament in private, when they durst not meet in public to celebrate the sacred mysteries; *Tert. L. 2. ad Uxorem C. 5. St. Cypr. L. de Lapsis*. And 3. One kind was also used in administering it to the sick: *St. Denys of Alex. apud Euseb. L. 6. Hist. c. 44.*

From these undeniable instances of communions in one kind practised by the primitive church, I infer it was her judgment: 1. That communion in one kind is not forbid by Christ, whose laws cannot be violated upon any pretence whatsoever. 2. That the sacrament is not mutilated by it: for then it would be sacrilege to receive it in one kind, which the primitive church would not have suffered. And 3. that neither the Testament of Christ is violated, nor the faithful deprived of any part of our Saviour's legacy: both which are impieties, which the primitive church would have abhorred; whence I conclude again, that receiving in one or both kinds is a matter of discipline only, which therefore the church has full authority to regulate as she judges most fitting. Nay considering that the instances I have produced of communions in one kind were practised by the church in the very first and second age after the apostles, we may reasonably suppose, she followed in this the example of the apostles themselves.

But did not Christ institute both kinds? and is it not then acting contrary to the institution to receive the sacrament in one kind only?

I answer 1. The primitive church did not think it to be contrary to Christ's institution: and I see no reason why we should think ourselves wiser than the primitive church was.

I answer, 2. That there is a large difference between instituting both kinds, and obliging all to receive both kinds. God instituted marriage, but all are not bound to marry. Christ likewise instituted priesthood and episcopacy; but all are not bound to be priests or bishops. Therefore unless there be a positive precept produced, which obliges all without exception to receive the sacrament in both kinds, the institution alone, cannot import any such general obligation. Now it is very strange, that if there were any such positive precept, the primitive church should either know nothing of it, or act contrary to it if she knew it.

But why then did Christ institute both kinds? I answer, because the Eucharist is not only a sacrament, that is, a sign of invisible grace instituted for the nourishment of our souls, but also a sacrifice, which is one of the most essential parts of religion: and for

this reason Christ instituted the blessed Eucharist under both kinds, that by the mystical separation of his body and blood upon the altar, signified by the separate forms of consecration, their real separation, on the cross, might be more perfectly represented, and so be both a standing lively memorial of the death he once suffered, and a perpetual oblation of infinite value for us.

I add that there are several circumstances relating to the institution, which never were thought to be obligatory in after-times. I shall only mention two. 1st, the apostles received the sacrament sitting, as is expressly observed by three of the evangelists. Whereas those of the church of England, as well as Roman Catholics, receive it always kneeling, unless hindered by sickness, and 2dly, Christ consecrated and gave the blessed sacrament to his apostles in "supper-time, or after supper" *Matt.* xxvi. 26. "As they were eating," *Mark*, xiv. 22. "As they did eat," *Luke*, xxii. 19. 20. He took bread, &c. likewise also, the cup after supper saying, &c. Nay, we do not find in scripture, that the blessed sacrament was ever consecrated or given at any other time of the day, and it is still called the Lord's supper. Yet, because Christ never enjoined this practice by any positive precept, the church has made a law against it; and if any one should presume either to consecrate or give the blessed sacrament in supper time or after supper, in opposition to this decree of the church, he would most certainly be guilty of schism, though he had an undeniable example in scripture to colour his disobedience: Nay, an example set him, by all the apostles and Christ himself; and that without any scriptural evidence for the contrary practice. Let but this be applied to the doctrine of the council of Constance, forbidding the laity in both kinds, though Christ administered it in both kinds to his apostles; and the weakness of the argument drawn from it against us, will be apparent to the meanest capacity. But let us now consider the texts usually objected against us.

SECT. III.

Objections from Scripture Answered.

The Catechist has mustered up six texts against us. But he might have saved himself the trouble, for four of the six are nothing at all to the purpose. As for example, the following, "as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come," *Cor.* xi. 26. which only proves, as I said before, that the sacrament (whether taken in one or both kinds) is a memorial of Christ's death, which is an undoubted truth.

The three following texts, quoted by the Catechist, are full as wide from the purpose, viz., "this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins," *Matt.* xxvi. 28. "This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is

shed for you," *Luke*, xxii. 20. "The cup of blessing, which we bless, is not the communion of the blood of Christ, 1. *Cor.* x. 16, These three texts, I say, are wholly wide from the purpose, and only prove (and indeed they prove it effectually) that Christ consecrated the cup into his blood, as well as the bread into his body, which I wish the Catechist believed as heartily as I do. But then I must desire him to remember, that Christ neither consecrated the cup into dead and inanimate blood, nor the bread into a dead carcass. Whence I have concluded that whosoever receives his body, receives likewise his sacred blood, for a living body cannot be without blood, nor can we receive one half of Christ, without the other.

The other two texts have some shadow of difficulty; but it will soon vanish. *St. Matthew*, xxvi. 27. says, "he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying, drink ye all of it." And *St. Mark*, xiv. 23, says, and they all drank of it," whence I presume, that the Catechist would have us conclude, that all are here commanded to drink the cup. But the *all* mentioned by *St. Mark*, explains the *all* that were commanded to drink according to *St. Matthew*. And who were those all? they could be no other than the apostles, who were the only persons with our Saviour at his last supper. For surely, if the apostles were the all that drank, they were likewise the same all that were bid to drink. A strange argument to prove that the laity are bound to drink of the cup.

But if any one asks whether it be not remarkable that Christ should in distributing the bread, say, no more than 'take and eat,' yet in giving the cup should say expressly, 'drink ye all of it,' to prevent as it were, the taking away of the cup? (This is Mr. Lesly's observation;) but I answer, that *St. Luke* has given a reason for it, which utterly destroys the force of this observation, for he tells us, that Christ himself divided the bread, and gave to each apostle the morsel he was to eat, *Luke* xxii. 19. So that all were not to eat of the same piece of consecrated bread, but all were to drink of the same consecrated cup; which therefore (according to *St. Luke's* relation) he gave them, and bid them "divide it among themselves;" 17. And this explains our Saviour's saying, 'drink ye all of it;' which was only said to caution them, that they were all to have their share of the cup he gave them, whereas, this caution was unnecessary as to the consecrated bread, which he distributed with his own hands.

The last text, on which Protestants lay the greatest stress, is as follows: 'except ye eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you,' *John* vi. 53. This, say they, implies a positive precept of communion in both kinds, as a means necessary to attain life everlasting. I grant it implies a positive precept of receiving the body and blood of Christ, but not of communion in both kinds: which I prove first from the practice of the primitive church, who were surely as clear-sighted as the pretended reformers, yet never could discover a positive pre-

cept of communion in both kinds in that text. For had they seen it, they would not have acted contrary to it by administering the communion in one kind only, as they did on many occasions.

But I prove it 2dly, from no less than four texts in the same chapter of St. John, where Christ promises eternal life to eating alone: as first, "this is the bread which came down from Heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die;" 51. 3dly, "he that eateth me shall live by me;" 57. and 4thly, "he that eateth this bread shall live for ever;" 58. Since therefore life everlasting is here promised no less than four times to eating the bread without any mention of the cup, the true meaning of the above mentioned text, wherein both eating and drinking are mentioned, can be no other than this, viz. except we become partakers both of the body and blood of Christ for the nourishment of our souls, we shall have no life in us, which no Roman Catholic ever denied. But since it is impossible to receive the living body of Christ without receiving his blood by the very action of eating his body, it is an undeniable consequence, that communion in one kind is an entire fulfilling of the precept implied in the above-mentioned text, as it fully answers the end for which the sacrament was instituted; to wit, the obtaining of life everlasting according to Christ's promise, so often repeated in the same chapter.

Nay, nothing can be more rational than this interpretation of the fore-mentioned text; because the only drift of our Saviour's discourse was to convince the disbelieving Capharnaits, that unless their souls were nourished with the real flesh and blood of the son of man, they should not have life everlasting; and that they, who were made partakers of his body and blood, should have life everlasting. So that provided the real body and blood of Christ be but received, whether it be by the action of eating, or of drinking only, or by both together, it is manifest that all worthy communicants, as they receive whole Christ, who is the fountain of grace and eternal life, so they fully satisfy the end of Christ's institution, and perform all that is obligatory in the precept of communion.

This, I think, suffices to satisfy any man, who will be content with a reasonable satisfaction; and to convince him at the same time, that the loud clamours of Protestants against us on account of communion in one kind, are wholly unjustifiable, and appear to be the fruits of a violent party spleen, rather than a sincere zeal for the truth. I shall however, offer one consideration more, to make good the principle point I have maintained; to wit, that there is no positive command to oblige all to receive the sacrament in both kinds. For, surely, if there were any such command, I may confidently say, it is wholly improbable, the universal church, in any age whatsoever, could be so blind as not to see it, and if they saw it, I ask what motives could her bishops and pastors have to combine together in a resolution to commit a damnable sin, by forbidding what Christ has commanded, when there was neither ho-

nour, nor interest, nor pleasure to induce them to it? and yet it is an incontestible fact, that two general councils (and general councils have always been regarded as the representatives of the universal church) decreed that the sacrament should not be administered to the laity in both kinds. It is therefore plain, that when they made this law, they were convinced in their hearts of two things. First, that the people were not injured by receiving it in one kind, and 2dly, that there was no command to oblige them to receive it in both. And if neither they nor the great lights of the primitive church, could ever discover any such command, it looks rather like a chimera than a probability, that a set of obscure factious persons, without mission or authority from any lawful superior, should be more intelligent and clear-sighted in divine matters than they, and see things wholly unseen before.

ARTICLE XI.

OF VENIAL SIN.

The eleventh pretended error of Papists is, their holding that some sins are venial. And he adds, that it is the Protestant belief, that no sin is in its own nature venial, but every sin is deadly, and deserves eternal damnation, p. 13, 14.

A N S W E R.

God forbid it should be so. But if it be true what the Catechist says, that this is Protestant doctrine, then I am very sure St. James was no Protestant. For he tells us, that "in many things we all offend:" *James* iii. 2. not excepting the greatest servants of God, who are doubtless subject to the ordinary imperfections of human nature. But surely St. James could not mean that either himself or his fellow-apostles, or other great saints, who loved God with their whole hearts, offended him frequently with deadly sin, and such as deserved eternal damnation. There must therefore, be a difference between venial and mortal sin. Nay, Christ himself shews there is a difference between them by comparing some sins to camels, others to gnats, *Matt.* xxiii. 24. some to motes, and others to beams: *Matt.* vii. 8. which comparison would be extremely improper, if all sins were damnable.

In effect, it is repugnant both to reason and the infinite goodness of God, to banish a creature for ever from his blessed sight, and condemn him to unquenchable flames, for the smallest trespasses committed against him. For even in this world, no parent that acts rationally, disinherits his child for a trivial fault: nor do human laws condemn a man to death, but for some enormous crime,

And how then, can the Catechist, with his Protestant friends, imagine, that a small offence of inadvertancy, of surprise, or of a petty injustice to his neighbour, which does him a very inconsiderable prejudice, should of themselves be enough to deprive a man of his everlasting inheritance, and doom him to eternal death.

As to the texts he produces against us, they only prove that any one mortal sin suffices to damn us; which nobody will dispute with him. But surely the Catechist will own himself to be a sinner, as well as his neighbours. He therefore falls into many sins: and if according to his own good-natured doctrine, he deals in no sins but such as are deadly, I hope I shall not be his companion at the great day of accounts.

ARTICLE XII.

OF PURGATORY.

The twelfth pretended error of Papists, is their doctrine of Purgatory; which he says is dangerous and groundless, p. 13.

ANSWER.

By the doctrine of Purgatory, we mean precisely a middle state of souls; that is, of the souls of such persons, who have neither lived so innocently as to pass straight to Heaven from this life, nor yet so ill as to be doomed to everlasting flames. Now this doctrine is so far from being groundless, as the Catechist tells us, that it is deduced by a clear and necessary consequence from several texts of scripture.

First, it is said, *Matt. xii. 32.* that whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." Upon which text St. Austin discourses thus: "it would not be truly said of some sins, that they shall neither be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, unless there were other sins, which, though not forgiven in this life, may yet be forgiven in the next; ' *L. 21. de Civ. Dei. C. 24.* Now no sort of sins enters into Heaven, and there is no forgiveness in Hell; therefore, there must be a third state capable of some sins, which in that state, may be forgiven.

2dly, It is said, *Rom. ii. 6.* that "God will render to every man according to his deeds." And *Apoc. xxi. 27.* "nothing that defiles shall enter into Heaven." Whence it follows, that as there is a middle state of men in this world, who are neither entirely innocent, nor yet in a state of damnation, there must also be for a time, a middle state of suffering in the next life. It is St. Austin's argument in *Ench. C. 109, 110.* And the texts of scripture now men-

tioned prove it sufficiently. For let us suppose three sorts of persons together. First, a child newly baptised, or a just man who has brought forth worthy fruits of repentance for all his sins; secondly, a man guilty of any of those crimes of which St. Paul says, that "they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" Gal. v. 19, 20, 21. thirdly, a person, who either has not fully satisfied the divine justice for all his past sins, or committed some small offences, whereof he has not yet repented: now if these three sorts of persons die suddenly, for example in their sleep by a fall of a house, the first are happy, *Apoc.* xiv. 13. The second are eternally miserable and doomed to hell. But if God will render to every man according to his works, what becomes of the third sort, who are neither in a state of damnation nor entirely innocent? where must they be expiated? in Heaven? but nothing that defiles enters there. In Hell? from those torments there is no redemption. It is then as certain, that there is a middle state of suffering after death, as it is that even just men are too often deficient in their duty, and that God after this life will render to every man according to his deeds; that is, it is as certain as that the Gospel is true.

But does God ever punish a pardoned sin? I answer, if the repentance be sincere, yet not so perfect as it ought, the sin may be so forgiven, that all temporal punishment is not released with it.—The prophet told David upon his repentance, that his sin was pardoned, 2 *Samuel*, xii. 13. But he let him know at the same time that he was still to undergo many afflictions for it, "as that his child should die," 14. and that "the sword should never depart from his house," 10, &c. And none but infidels can say, that God is unjust in punishing original sin in children, with sickness, death, ignorance, and passion, after the guilt of it is washed off in baptism. Such considerations as these are requisite to give us a true idea of sin. Which, as St. Augustin says, 'would appear but little, if the punishment of it ended with the guilt.'

If we consult antiquity, we shall find it has always been the practice of the Catholic church to pray for the relief of the faithful departed. 'The church (says Mr. Thorndike) has always assisted them with the prayers of the living.' *Just Weights and Measures*, c. 16. p. 107. 'And the practice of the church, (says he) in interceding for the dead at the celebration of the Eucharist is so general and so ancient, that it cannot be thought to have come in upon imposture, but that the same aspersion will seem to take hold of the common Christianity;' *ib.* p. 106. Indeed this is so manifest a truth; that a man must resolve to outface evidence to deny it; as will appear from the few following quotations, which, for brevity sake, I have chosen out of many.

In the end of the second century, Tertullian says of a faithful widow, 'she both prays for the soul of her husband, and begs a re-

freshment for him in the mean time,—and keeps his anniversaries, &c. *L. de monogam, c. 10.*

One part of Arius's heresy in the fourth century according to St. Epiphanius, was, 'that the prayers and alms of the living did the dead no good;' *Her. 75. §. T. 1. p. 908.* Against whom he writes that the church has this tradition from Christ, that the prayers are profitable for the dead, though they do not extinguish all sins;' § 8. *p. 912.* And that we mention the saints and other faithful departed in a quite different manner. 'The saints, that we may give a singular honour to Christ, and others that we may obtain mercy for them;' *ibid.*

St. Chrysostom writes thus: 'the apostles (says he) did not in vain command these things, that in the venerable and dreadful mysteries the dead should be remembered: for they knew they would derive a considerable advantage from it;' *Hom. 3. in Epist. ad Philip.* And again, 'the dead (says he) may be helped by prayers, and alms, and offerings; because they were not instituted in vain;' and concludes, 'let us therefore help them. For we have before us the expiatory sacrifice of the world. It may happen, that we may obtain a total pardon for them by prayers, by oblation, by the saints who are named with them;' *Hom. 41. in Epist. 1. ad Cor.* What a deal of Popery is here crowded together in these few lines of St. Chrysostom, Mass, purgatory, invocation of saints, and what not?

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, writes thus; 'lastly, we pray for all that die amongst us: thinking it to be the greatest help that can be to their souls to have the holy and dreadful sacrifice of the altar offered in supplication for them;' *Cat. Mystag. 5. p. 291.* Here again we find this ancient father at Mass, praying for the souls in purgatory; for which a priest would be hanged, drawn, and quartered in this island, if the laws of queen Elizabeth were executed against him. O blessed reformation!

We likewise find St Austin guilty of the same treasonable practice, in having Mass said for the soul of his mother, as he owns in his confessions. But (*Serm. 17. §. 2.*) he writes thus: 'by the prayers of the holy church (says he) and the wholesome sacrifice and alms, it is not to be doubted, but the dead are assisted. So that God deals more mercifully with them, than their sins have deserved.' Which he proves thus: 'because it is the practice of the whole church to pray and offer sacrifice for them.'

Here then we have these venerable witnesses of antiquity positively maintaining a state of souls in the other world, wherein they are refreshed, helped, favoured with the pardon of some sins, and more mercifully dealt with than their sins deserve, in consideration of the prayers, alms, and holy sacrifice of the altar offered up for them by the faithful upon earth: nay and declaring that this was the practice of the whole church in their time, and that it was derived from Christ himself and his apostles. What a grievous want of the reformation was there in those Popish days!

Objections Answered.

The Catechist pretends to prove, that there is no such place as purgatory from these words of St. John ; “blessed are the dead that die in the Lord ; from henceforth, says the spirit, that they may rest from their labour ;” *Apoc.* xiv. 13. I answer, that death puts an end to all labouring or working for salvation, according to these words of our Saviour ; “the night cometh when no man can work,” *John* ix. 4. But it does not put an end to all suffering, except it be in relation to such pious souls as are perfectly innocent or purified by their sufferings in this life.

He proceeds next to shew that the doctrine of purgatory is dangerous and groundless for five reasons. First, (says he) ‘because there is no ground for it in scripture.’ 2dly, ‘because they that belong to God can be no where afflicted but he is afflicted with them.’ But the first is answered already ; and I promise to answer the second, as soon as I have capacity enough to understand that it is any thing to the purpose.

His third reason is, ‘because it denies the fullness of Christ’s satisfaction.’ I answer, that if suffering for our sins in the life to come be injurious to Christ’s satisfaction, then suffering for them in this life, carrying our cross, and bearing worthy fruits of repentance, to which the gospel exhorts us, must likewise be injurious to it.

His fourth reason is, ‘because the doctrine of purgatory lessens the horrid nature of sin.’ I answer, if purgatory could expiate the guilt of mortal sin, or if men were naturally fond of suffering bitterly even for lesser offences, I should be of the Catechist’s opinion. But it is above my comprehension, that punishments and sufferings should lessen the horror of sin.

His last reason against purgatory is, ‘that the desire St. Paul had of being dissolved was, that he might be with Christ,’ *Phil.* i. 23. Very right : and it is the desire of all pious souls. But they leave it to God to judge, whether at their dissolution they shall be worthy to be immediately admitted to his blessed sight ; and resign themselves entirely to his holy will and pleasure.

As to what he says, ‘that the doctrine of purgatory impairs the confidence and comforts of the saints,’ I can easily guess what sort of saints he means. But if the fear of purgatory lessens any man’s confidence in God, surely the fear of Hell will lessen it much more ; and yet we are all exhorted in the gospel to fear him, who can cast both soul and body into Hell, *Matt.* x. 28.

ARTICLE XIII.

OF BELIEVING THE SCRIPTURES UPON THE SOLE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

The thirteenth pretended error of Papists is, that they believe the scriptures upon the sole authority of the church, p. 5

ANSWER.

We believe the scriptures, because they contain the pure word of God, and were written by divine inspiration. But setting aside the authority of the Catholic church, men cannot without a miracle have a certain knowledge that all the books of scripture were written in that manner. If this be an error, the learned St. Austin was deeply concerned in it. For he declared positively to the Manichees, 'that he would not believe the gospels themselves, unless the authority of the church induced him to it.' *contra Epist. Fund* c. 4. What a zealous Papist did this holy and learned father here declare himself?

Yet he advances nothing but what is evident to common sense; for no book is scripture because it says it is so; otherwise the *Alcoran* might be such. Much less is any book scripture because it is written in an humble, grave, serious, or majestic style: for although this dress becomes the word of God, yet it no more makes it to be so than purple makes a king, or gives him a title to the crown. And you may as well imagine that the sacred pen-men did not write in the language of other mortals, as that they have a style so peculiar to themselves, that no man can imitate it without being inspired. Neither is a book scripture, because it contains nothing but what is true. For all true relations of things are not scripture. How then is it possible for mankind to have, without a miracle, a certain assurance that such and such books (written near two thousand years ago) are scripture, if they have no regard to the human authority by which they are recommended as books written by divine inspiration? however this doctrine makes the Catechist very uneasy.

But where is the evil of it? he says, 'it lieth herein, namely, that men being liable to mistakes may lead us into errors. So that we can never be sure, that what we take as our rule, is indeed that right one of God's prescribing. Therefore the testimony of the church cannot be the only or chief reason of our believing the scripture to be the word of God,' p. 5.

According to this way of arguing we can never be sure of the truth of any thing that is told us by men; which unsettles the very foundations of faith. For does not faith come by hearing? *Rom. x. 17.* And are they not the voices of men, which we hear? surely the Catechist was seized with a more than ordinary fit of in-

advertency when he wrote this piece. For it knocks down at one blow all church authority in matters of faith: because the church is certainly composed of men, and it is not safe according to the Catechist to take our rule of faith from men. But what is worst of all, the apostles themselves are brought into disrepute by it: for it is certain they were men, and by consequence the first Christians that were instructed by them, 'could never be sure (as the Catechist argues) that what they took as their rule of faith was indeed the right one of God's prescribing.' Nay what will become of the scriptures themselves? for they were written by men; and men (according to the Catechist's way of arguing) being liable to mistakes, may lead us into errors. But could he not reflect with himself that men, though fallible by nature, may, by the divine assistance, convey the infallible word of God to others, either by word of mouth or writing? especially such men, as have their commission and authority from God to preach the word; and whom he has promised to lead into all truth, even unto the end of the world?

But let us now see upon what ground he settles the Protestant belief of scriptures. The question and answer are delivered thus, *p. 5. Q.* "What then is the chief reason of our belief of scriptures?" *A.* The testimony of the spirit of God in the word itself witnessing it to be of God." This is downright Quakerism; and he quotes the very same texts for proof of it, which every Quaker has without book to justify his nonsense, which is all the answer it deserves.

ARTICLE XIV.

OF APOSTOLICAL TRADITIONS.

The fourteenth pretended error of Papists is, their receiving unwritten traditions with equal respect and reverence, as Protestants receive the holy scriptures, p. 4.

ANSWER.

The Catechist ought here to have told his reader, what sort of unwritten traditions we receive with the same respect as the holy scriptures. But since he did not think fit to do it, St. Paul shall do it for him. "Therefore (says he) brethern stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle," 2 *Thes.* ii. 15. Here St. Paul speaks plainly of unwritten traditions taught by the apostles, and gives them the same weight and authority as to his own epistle. Because they convey to us the pure word of God as certainly, as scriptures themselves.

If you say, that all tradition is uncertain, 1st, this is evidently to contradict St. Paul, who tells us, that the traditions of the apostles

are to be held stedfastly. And must not every thinking man, who is not hurried away with prejudice, be of the same mind? for surely the word of God is equally the word of God, whether it be delivered to us by word of mouth, or by writing. Christ himself laid the foundation of the church by preaching only, and the apostles preached several years before they writ any of the canonical books of scripture. Now I presume they preached the pure word of God, and by consequence it was not their writing that made it the word of God, for it was the word before they wrote it: and though they had never written at all, but delivered the whole Christian doctrine only by word of mouth to those who succeeded them in their apostolical charge, we should have been obliged to receive it as the word of God, and therefore with the same respect as we do now the holy scripture. I add, that if apostolical tradition be necessarily uncertain, we cannot be sure of the scripture itself, which is conveyed to us by no other channel. And if the books of scripture can be infallibly conveyed to us by tradition from the apostles, why may not the Trinity or any other mystery of Christian faith? the reason in both cases is manifestly the same.

If you say, 2dly, that all points of Christian doctrine were afterwards written in the bible: I answer, 1st, that the bible no where says this. 2dly, That the church of all ages, from which we received the bible itself, tells us the contrary. St. Irenæus, an eminent father and martyr of the second age, writes thus: ‘suppose (says he) the apostles had left us no scriptures, ought we not to have followed the rule of tradition, which they delivered to those, to whose care they committed the churches;’ *L. 3. C. 3.*

‘It is apostolical, (says St. Basil) to hold even unwritten tradition;’ *L. de Sp. S. C. 29.*

‘Tradition too is necessary, (says St. Epiphanius;) for all things cannot be had from the scripture. Therefore the blessed apostles left us some things in writing, and others by tradition;’ *Hær. 61.*

St. Chrysostom agrees with them in the very same doctrine. ‘It is clear (says he) the apostles did not deliver all things in writing, but many things without it, and these too deserve to be believed.—Let us then give credit to the traditions of the church. It is tradition, seek no farther;’ *Hom. 4. in Ep. 2. ad Thess.*

However the Catechist cannot relish this doctrine. And the ‘evil of it (he says) consists in making traditions of men equal in dignity and authority with the express word of God,’ *p. 4.* But he is utterly mistaken. We make nothing that is not the word of God equal with that, which is the word of God; but we only make the unwritten word of God delivered to us by the tongues of men, equal with the written word of God delivered to us by the pens of men. For I presume the apostles were equally men, whether they spoke or wrote. And I here ask the Catechist, whether if St. Paul had instructed him in any point of the Christian doctrine only by word of mouth, he would not have believed it to be the word of God, and

paid the same respect to it, as if he had writ it to him in a letter? this I fear is a puzzling question.

Let us now hear the Catechist's opinion of this matter. 'It is that the scriptures in themselves are a full, sufficient, and perfect rule: because (says he) they contain all things, that are necessary for men to believe and do in order to eternal life,' *p.* 4. However as positive as the Catechist seems to be in the matter, I own I have some scruples relating to it, and desire his assistance to be satisfied in them. But for brevity's sake I shall only propose two; one relating to what is to be believed, the other relating to what is to be done.

As to the first, I think the Catechist is bound as well as myself to believe, that all the books of the Old Testament set down in the 9th article of religion, together with all the parts of the New Testament as it is printed in the bible, he is bound, I say, to believe all these to be canonical scriptures. This then is a part of the Christian faith, and necessary to be believed. Now I desire the Catechist to let me know, what text of scripture he has to determine precisely the number of canonical books. For if there be no text for it, as I never could find any, it follows that there is something to be believed which cannot be found in the books themselves of scripture. And, by consequence, the written word alone is not a full rule of faith.

But I think there is likewise something necessary to be done, for which the Catechist will have some difficulty to find a text of scripture. The thing I mean, is keeping the Sunday holy instead of Saturday. For I scarce believe he will allow salvation to a person, who should make an avowed practice of prophaning the Sunday, and doing all manner of servile works upon it, and keeping the Saturday, (as the Jews do) instead of it. Now then it behoves the Catechist to produce a text commanding the Sunday to be kept holy, as there certainly is one, which expressly commands the "Saturday to be kept holy," *Exod.* xx. 8. For if he cannot produce any such text, as I am sure he cannot, then the observance or sanctifying of the Sunday is a thing necessary to be done, for which there is no express scripture; and the Catechist as well as myself must be obliged to the tradition of the church for the safety of his practice in setting aside the Saturday, and keeping the Sunday instead of it. All which put together shews plainly, that there is no error in paying the same respect to apostolical traditions as to the scriptures themselves: because the apostles taught nothing but the pure word of God; which, whether it be written or unwritten, is equally an unerring rule both of faith and practice.

But here the Catechist produces five texts to prove 'that scripture contain all things necessary for men to believe or do.' The four first are taken from *Isa.* viii. 20, *John* xx. 31, *Gal.* i. 8, and *Eph.* ii. 20. But they have so little connection with the matter he quotes them for, that the four first verses of Genesis would be as

much to his purpose. I appeal to the judgment of any man for the truth of what I say.

As to his fifth text it is thus quoted by the Catechist. "From a child thou hast known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Jesus Christ, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works," 2 *Tim.* iii. 16, 17. He should have said 15, 17. For he omitted the 16th verse for reasons best known to himself. However the Catechist has quoted enough to shew that the objection can do him no service. For what were the holy scriptures which Timothy had known from a child? doubtless the Old Testament only, for no part of the New Testament was then written. Either then the New Testament is not necessary to make a man wise to salvation, or apostolical tradition may be also necessary.

In the 16th verse omitted by the Catechist, St. Paul tells us, "that all scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, that the man of God may be perfect, &c. Of this no one doubts. But it is a quite different thing, to say the scripture is profitable or useful for such and such effects, and to say, the scripture alone is sufficient for them. Drink is profitable for perfect health and all the functions of life in the best and most complete manner. But is there no need of meat? Again, meat is profitable, for all the very same effects. But is there no need of drink? I add that the scripture is even sufficient for all the ends he mentions when rightly understood, that is, by the lights to which the scripture itself directs us (which lights are chiefly apostolical tradition, and the sense of the church) or when a man has learned from the pastors of the church the tenets of the Christian doctrine. For then the scripture will furnish him abundantly both with examples and moral instructions for all Christian virtues.

For the Catechist's farther satisfaction, I shall transcribe the paraphrase of Dr. Hammond, a Protestant divine, upon the words of St. Paul, *p.* 752. v. 15. 'And having been instructed in the understanding the Old Testament ever since thou wert a child, thou wilt certainly by the help of the Christian doctrine, which thou hast received, be able to distinguish the truth from the false doctrine of the Gnostics, v. 16. For all those writings, which have at any time been written by the prophets, and as such received into the canon of the Jewish church, may by us be profitably made use of, to teach us many things that Christ has taught us.' So that if Dr. Hammond be right, St. Paul in this whole passage, speaks only of the Old Testament. Which certainly is not the entire rule of Christian belief

ARTICLE XV.

OF IMAGES.

The fifteenth pretended error of Papists is, their worshipping of Images, p. 17.

ANSWER.

What we hold concerning images, is contained in this short declaration of the council of Trent: viz. 'that the images of Christ and his saints are to be retained, and that a due honour and veneration is to be given them.' *Sess. 25.* This, I, think, is but consonant to the light of nature; and there is not a cobbler or porter of sound judgment in the world, but knows as well as the ablest divine, that a person may be honoured or affronted by respecting or despising his image. So that to question this, is to question the general notion of all mankind.

We see men hanged or burned in effigy, when their persons cannot be reached: and the pictures and images of our friends and sovereigns treated with honour and respect. Now what is the reason of this? it can be no other than an imbred principle of nature that the honour or affront done to pictures and images redounds upon the persons, whose images and pictures they are. And if persons can be thus honoured in their images; ought we not to testify the respect we have for Christ and his saints by all the marks of honour, that reason and religion can suggest?

If you tell me that bowing before any image is forbid in the 2d commandment, *Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9.* I answer, either what you call the second commandment is a precept of the law of nature, or it is not. If it be not, it does not bind Christians. For what the church of England says in the 7th of the 39th article, concerning Mosaical rites and ceremonies, is equally true of the commandments themselves, as far as they contain any thing, which is not a precept of the law of nature. Otherwise Christians would be tied to the Jewish Sabbath, that is, to make Saturday the day of worship. But if these words, thou shalt not bow down to them, be a natural precept, you need not quote the commandments to prove the thing unlawful.

If you ask me, whether those words be a natural precept, or not? I answer: as they forbid any respect to idols, that is, to the images of false gods, they are doubtless a natural precept: but a Christian is no more forbid to bow to a crucifix, than he is forbid to bow to the chair of state, to the altar, or communion table, to the bible, to the name of Jesus, or to one another in common conversation.—This is so manifest to common sense, that nothing but the most unreasonable prejudices of education are capable of holding any one

in the contrary opinion. As to the Jews (a nation so extremely prone to idolatry as to fall into it, *Exod.* xxxii. at the very time when Moses was receiving the commandments from God) if they had any farther restraint, Christians are not all concerned in it.

If you say again, that bowing, kneeling, &c. are acts of divine worship. I answer, this is a groundless cavil. In the scripture they are not peculiar to God alone, nor are they always signs of a divine adoration, but sometimes of an inferior honour, sometimes of none at all. Even the very same outward action may bear these different regards. When a subject bows to the chair of state, it is an act of loyalty in regard of the king, but not with regard to the chair. Nor does he give to the chair the king's honour, for then it would be an act of treason. When he kisses the bible, or bows to the altar, or to the name of Jesus, it is an act of divine worship in regard of Christ's person. It is a relative and inferior honour with regard to the bible, to the altar, or to the sound in the air. And whether you will call it religious worship or not, is only a question about words. When the soldiers bowed down, and kneeled to our Saviour, *Matt.* xxvii. 29. It was neither an act of divine worship, nor of any inferior honour, but only of contempt. But how do we know that bowing to the altar, is not giving it divine honour? Because the altar is not the God of Christians: nor does the heart of a Christian intend any such thing.

However the Catechist is not satisfied: for, says he, we worship the images of Christ and the saints, and that is idolatrous: but, if he will but understand plain English and common sense, I tell him once more, we worship them no otherwise, than Protestants worship the communion table, or the sound of the name of Jesus, when they bow to it, or the bible when they kiss it. If they deny that they worship them in paying that respect, we deny it in the very same sense. But if they grant they worship them, then it follows, that creatures may be worshipped with an inferior or relative honour, and they must not blame us for it.

In effect, no word is more equivocal than the word worship.—Every justice of peace is called worshipful. It follows therefore that he has a just title to a civil worship: and if we pay him the respect due to him, I hope it will not turn him into an idol. Nay, in the words of matrimony, according to the form of the church of England, the man says to the woman, with this ring I thee wed, and with my body I thee worship. Yet I believe no Christian husband, though ever so fond, ever intended to make a goddess of his wife, or pay her divine worship. Thus then the word worship is often taken for a mere civil respect: and when it is taken for an honour given upon a motive of religion, its signification, if applied to God, is as different from what it means, when it is applied to creatures, as if we had two different words to express our different conceptions.

Whence it plainly follows, that the controversy about worshipping

images is but a question about words, and therefore beneath a serious dispute.

It follows again, that all reasoning from such ambiguous words, is nothing at the bottom but fallacy and amusement; and a mere design to perplex ignorant people, by hiding from them the true state of the question.

Let us now hear what Protestants believe according to the Catechist. He tells us their belief is that it is unlawful, "1. To make images of God. 2. To direct our worship to an image, or by the help of an image. 3. To give religious worship to any creature," p. 17.

This piece contains three heads. I shall touch briefly upon each. To the first I say, it is unlawful to make images or pictures of God, so, as to believe them to be true representations of the divine nature; which some heretics held to be corporeal. Nay even Tertullian fell into that error. But since God the Father appeared to Daniel in the likeness of an old man, and God the Holy Ghost appeared over our Saviour's head in the likeness of a dove, I cannot see how it should be a crime to paint or carve those corporeal figures, in which he was pleased to appear. For surely an historical part of the bible may lawfully be painted, or represented in carving. And this is all that our painters pretend to do, and they have the example of the church of England to encourage them to it.—For the picture of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove is to be seen in all her common prayer books that are printed with cuts.—And therefore, since the Holy Ghost is as pure a Spirit and as truly God as the Father, if it be lawful to represent the one in the likeness of a dove; it is a mystery wholly incomprehensible, that it should be unlawful to represent the other in the likeness of an old man.

As to the 2d, viz. that it is unlawful to direct our worship to an image. If the Catechist means, that it is unlawful to pray to it, or give it divine worship, I heartily subscribe to what he says; for we detest any such practice. But if he means, that it is unlawful to use an image with respect purely for the sake of the person it represents, what he says is not only a mistake, but contrary to the light of nature, as I have already shewn.

However, according to his laudable custom, he produces here two texts to make a flourish with. The first from St. *Matthew*, iv. 10. "thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," which only proves that divine worship or adoration is due to God alone. The second from *Apoc.* xix. 10. 'see thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant,' though wholly foreign to the point in question, it shall be honoured with St. Austin's answer, who writes thus: 'the angel appeared in such a manner, that he might have been adored as God; therefore St. John's mistake was to be corrected.' *Q. 6. in Gen.* This I think is a very rational explanation of that text: and if the Catechist will not allow of it, he

must either say, that St. John intended to commit idolatry, or was so ignorant as not to know what was idolatry, what was not.

What he adds, viz. that it is unlawful to worship by the help of an image, is beyond my comprehension. For how can it be a crime in any man to make use, for example, of an image of Christ on the cross, in order to raise his heart to the love and adoration of Christ crucified.

As to the last, viz. that it is unlawful to give a religious worship to any creature, I have already answered, that this is most certainly true, if by religious worship he means the supreme adoration, which is due to God alone. But if his meaning be, that no religious honour whatsoever can lawfully be paid to creatures, he either quarrels about a word, or he has the practice of the whole church of England flatly against him. For, first, I think the bible and communion table are creatures, yet English Protestants make no scruple to bow to them; which surely is a respect paid wholly upon a religious motive: that is, by reason of the relation those things have to God. Secondly, it cannot be doubted, but that angels and saints are creatures. Yet the church of England keeps one holy day for all the saints in general, and another for St. Michael and all the angels. Now, if keeping holy days by any part of religious devotion, as I presume it is, then this is properly a religious honour. Nay, whenever we honour a person, whether dead or alive, merely for spiritual gifts bestowed upon him by God, then the honour we pay him is not civil but religious. And since the honour paid by the church of England to saints and angels, when she keeps holy days in memory of them, is of this nature, the Catechist must certainly overshoot himself in saying, that it is unlawful to give a religious honour or worship (let him call it by what name he pleases) to any creature.

SECT. II.

Of Relics.

Though the Catechist has no express article concerning relics in the body of his catechism, he thought better of it in his additions or appendix to it, where the honour we pay to relics is dignified by the name of foppery, and made the chief proof of his charge of superstition and idolatry against us, p. 32, 33. I shall therefore speak briefly of it in this place, as likewise of some other things called fopperies by this worthy gentleman; as, the blessing of the holy water, the sign of the cross, and the like.

As to the bones and ashes of saints (the honouring whereof he mentions with reproach) I own we keep them with the same respect, as the church did in the most primitive ages. Nay God himself, even long before the law of grace, was pleased to honour the bones of Eliseus with an extraordinary miracle, to wit, the raising

a dead man to life. "For (says the scripture) they cast the man into the sepulchre of Eliseus, and when the man was let down and touched the bones of Eliseus, he revived, and stood upon his feet," 4 *Kings* xiii. 21. Is it then foppery to honour the bones of saints, when God himself has set the example? And that even before the gates of Heaven were opened by the death of Christ, and their souls admitted to eternal bliss?

But Heaven no sooner began to be peopled with martyrs and confessors, but the church began likewise to pay a singular veneration to their mortal remains. Whereof I shall only give two instances for brevity's sake. 1. In the acts of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, written by those who accompanied him to Rome, where he suffered, Ann. 107. For we read, 'that being devoured by wild beasts, there was nothing left of his holy relics, but only some of the bones, which were carried to Antioch, and left to that church for the martyr's sake, as an inestimable treasure.'

2. The martyrdom of St. Polycarp, Ann. 166, was written by the church of Smyrna, whereof he was bishop, And Eusebius says, 'they observed, that the devil did his best, by the means of Jews and Gentiles, that the Christians should not have his blessed body. But that after it was burnt, the Christians carried away his bones, which they valued more than gold and precious stones.' *Apud. Eus. L. 4, Hist. C. 15. p. 134.* And must not a man have a good stock of confidence to call this religious practice of the most primitive ages foppery?

But let us come somewhat lower down. In the end of the 4th century, one Vigilantius writ, as the Catechist does, against the practice of the Catholic church in the veneration of relics. But how did St. Jerom compliment him upon it? 'Vigilantius (says he) fights with an unclean spirit against the spirit of Christ, by asserting that the tombs of martyrs are not to be revered;' *L. contra Vigil.* And again in the same book: 'the devils (says he) with which Vigilantius is possessed, roar at the relics, and confess they cannot bear the presence of the martyrs.' Nay, he tells him, 'that all the bishops in the world were against him;' and in his 53d epistles, he writes thus: 'you tell me that Vigilantius vomits once more his poison against the relics of martyrs, calling us dust-worshippers and idolaters, for reverencing dead men's bones. O! unhappy man, who can never be sufficiently lamented!'

Thus did St. Jerom treat Vigilantius for opposing the veneration of relics then practised by the universal church. And it is to be observed that this heretic gave the name of dust worshippers and idolaters to the orthodox Christians of those times. Which is a demonstrative proof, 1st, that even the dust or ashes of saints were held in veneration by the primitive Christians. 2dly, that the imputation of superstition and idolatry for the veneration of relics, is an old calumny against the Catholic church.

SECT. III.

Of Blessing ourselves with the Sign of the Cross.

This is foppery and superstition in the Catechist's language.— But what an age do we live in when the sign of the sacred instrument of man's redemption is made a subject of laughter among Christians? However this was one of the earliest fruits of the reformation. For then it was, that a crucifix began to be treated with ignominy and contempt, as if it were the image of some infamous traitor, or enemy of the state. And even now (as I have seen with my own eyes) a man becomes as ridiculous in Protestant company, by blessing himself with the sign of the cross, as if he were dressed up in a fool's coat.

But was it so in the primitive ages? let us hear what Tertullian writes upon this subject. 'At every step and every turn, at every coming in and going out, if we put on our clothes, or change our shoes, if we wash, if we take a repast, if a candle be brought into the room, if we lie or sit, whatever we do we are still making the sign of the cross upon our foreheads.' *L. de corona milit. c. 3.*

This passage of Tertullian is alone so full and ample a testimony of the judgment of antiquity in relation to the subject in question, that it is impossible for any man to read it without being convinced, that our adversaries, in deriding our practice, condemn that of the purest ages of the church.

SECT. IV.

Of the Use of Holy Water and other Blessings.

Page 32, the Catechist mentions holy water, and several blessings used in the church of Rome, as so many instances of Popish foppery. Let us see whether they do not deserve to be treated with more respect. As for holy water, it is above eleven hundred years since it began to be used in England. This appears from St. Gregory's epistle to St. Melitus, to whom he wrote thus: 'let the idols be destroyed, let holy water be made, let it be sprinkled in the said temples. Let altars be made, and relics be placed in them,' *L. 11. Epist. 76.* This is an unanswerable proof, that the English received the use of holy water, together with their Christianity.

But it may be traced much higher: For in the reign of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, when the Jews by magical enchantments hindered the building of a church, we have in St. Epiphanius this blessing of water used effectually by the holy count Joseph; who, after he had made the sign of the cross upon it, prayed thus: 'in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, may this water have power against the magical charms and enchantments they

have used ; and may it restore to the fire its natural force, that the house of God may be finished.'

We have the like instance in Thedoret, of water blessed with the sign of the cross, and no less effectually used, by St. Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, against the devil hindering a temple of the heathens from taking fire. For the blessed water was no sooner thrown upon it, but the charm was dissolved. *L. 5. Hist. Eccl. c. 21.*

St. Jerom also relates, that one Italicus, a Christian officer of Gaza, who by his place was to entertain the people with the games called circuses, but had his horses enchanted by his adversary a heathen, had some water given him by St. Hilarion, with which he sprinkled his horses, his chariot, and the barriers, from whence they used to run, and that the charm of witchcraft ceased upon the sprinkling this water. So that the people cried out, Marnas is overcome by Christ, and many heathens were converted upon it.—*Hier. in vita Hil. p. 323 Paris edition.*

These are sufficient proofs of the antiquity of this institution : which therefore deserves not to have the contemptible name of popery fixed upon it.

As to the other blessings, first, St. Paul tells us, "that every creature is sanctified by the word of God and prayer," and it is the practice of all Christian churches to bless the meat upon the table. An old Greek ritual, under the name of apostolical constitutions, has a blessing of water and oil, that they may "cure diseases, cast out devils, and preserve from all dangers," *L. 8. c. 29.* And does not the church of England bless or consecrate her churches before any public service is performed in them ? we have a fresh instance of this in the late solemn consecration of the church of Greenwich. Does she not likewise bless the font in her administration of public baptism ? I think she does. For I find this form of blessing used by the minister, 'Almighty and everlasting God, regard we beseech thee the supplications of thy congregation : sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin, &c.

But the ceremony of the king's coronation is the most remarkable instance of the church of England's judgment and approbation of the blessings so boldly vilified by our Catechist. The history of the coronation of king James the second, tells us, *p. 91.* in the margin, that the oil, with which he was anointed, was solemnly consecrated in the morning of the coronation by the dean of Westminster, assisted by the prebendaries. And Baker, in the life of king Charles the second, specifies the very form of blessing the royal ornaments thus : 'O God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, by whom kings do reign and law-givers make good laws ; vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour to bless this royal ornament—Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this sword, which is hallowed for the defence of thy holy church—God, the Crown of the faithful, bless and sanctify this crown, so this thy servant that weareth it may

be filled with thy manifold graces—bless and sanctify this ring.—Printed, London, An. 1696, p. 742, 744.

Here then we have, 1st, meat: 2dly, churches; 3dly, the baptismal water; 4thly, the oil for anointing the king; 5thly, his royal robes; 6thly, his sword; 7thly, his ring; 8thly, his crown; blessed, hallowed, sanctified, and consecrated, according to the practice of the church of England. And will the Catechist stigmatize these with the character of fopperies? If he does, he will surely pass, even amongst his friends; for a profane derider of religion.

I shall therefore here turn advocate for his church, and admonish the Catechist, that solemn prayers offered to God for a benediction on his creatures, are not to be vilified or ridiculed. Now all blessings or consecrations of inanimate things, are nothing else but so many forms of prayer, ordained by the church, to implore the benediction of God for such or such an end, in the lawful use of his creatures. For since they may be either abused, or employed for God's honour; and since whatever is good in itself may lawfully be prayed for; some are blessed, that men may use them as they ought: and others, that they may answer those ends, for which the prayer in their blessing is offered up to God. And does this deserve to be called foppery? I hope not unless Atheists and Deists are to be our judges.

SECT. V.

Of Beads, Spittle, Nunneries, Fish-days, Disciplines, and Pilgrimages.

To omit nothing of the scurrilous piece I have now in hand, the above-mentioned things are reckoned by the Catechist among the vain fopperies (as he calls them) of the church of Rome. I shall touch briefly upon each.

1. Beads. These are of no other use, than to help us to remember what prayers we have to say: and where is the absurdity?

Aye, but we say ten Ave's for one Pater Noster, I never heard that this was required by the terms of our communion. So that if the Catechist has but faith enough to say once Hail Mary, he may say the Lord's Prayer as often as he pleases. And if Catholics take another method, they do not think that the Hail Mary is the better prayer of the two: much less do they believe, that the Mother ought to be honoured more than the Son. No, they know the first is false, and the second blasphemy. What reason can they have? I will tell you some of them. First, because if God be honoured by their desiring the prayers of the Blessed Virgin once, he cannot be dishonoured by their desiring them ten times. Secondly, because the Blessed Virgin's prayers are ten times better than their own. Thirdly, because it is much easier to desire to have a share in the

prayers of another, than to let our hearts keep pace with our words, in the most holy and sublime petition of our Lord's Prayer: a prayer so truly divine, that to say it five or six times as it ought (I mean with those affections of the heart, which it imports) is a task great enough for a good Christian at one time of prayer. They say then the Hail Mary oftener, not because it is the better prayer, but because it is the easier and to be said "from the heart, requires the less application and bent of the mind. Fourthly, for a more frequent exercise of the Catholic faith, humility and prayer to God. Of faith, by a repeated invocation to saints; and by honouring her, whom "all generations will call blessed," *Luke. i. 48.* and whom her enemies often vilify. Of humility: for he who desires the prayers of another, owns he is not worthy to pray for himself. Of Prayer to God: because the language of the heart is the same, whether I say, 'O God, may we have a share in the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, now, and at the hour of our death:' or, 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death.'

2. Spittle, it is used by us in the ceremonies of baptism, in imitation of our Saviour Christ, who with his spittle cured the deaf and dumb man, *Mark. vii 33.* and the blind man, *Mark, viii. 23.* And is it a subject of laughter?

3. Nunneries, these are religious houses, where virgins and widows retire from the world, and consecrate themselves to the service of God for life. But voluntary obedience, poverty and chastity, are it seems virtues, which our Catechist cannot relish. And the devil dislikes them as well as he.

4. Fish-days and disciplines, the former are days of penance and humiliation ordained by the church; the latter are voluntary chastisements of the body, used by many pious Christians. And if these be fopperies, I am sure they are at least, of a very ancient date.—For St. Paul tells us "that he chastised his body, and brought it into subjection." *1. Cor. ix. 27.*

5. Pilgrimages, these are pious journeys, which many pious Christians undertake, merely upon a motive of devotion. And I see no reason, why journeys of devotion should not be preferable to those of curiosity and pleasure. Thus St. Helen took a journey to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places which Christ had honoured with his personal presence, and where he had vouchsafed to accomplish the sacred mysteries of our redemption. Thus, likewise, St. Jerom went to Bethlehem, to pay his devotions to our Saviour's crib, as himself relates, *Apol 2 contra Rufin.* And St. Austin attests, that whole crowds of people came to visit the relics of St. Stephen, some of which, were kept in his own diocese. And Almighty God was pleased to testify his approbation of this their devotion, by numberless miracles related by the same father, *L. 22. de Civ. Dei. c. 8.* So far was venerable antiquity from scoffing these things, or calling them fopperies, as some of our adversaries now do; and

what is very surprising, even those who pretend that the reformation only brought religion back to its ancient purity; whereas, it is apparent, from what has been said, that they have reformed away, a great part both of the faith and practice of the primitive times.

ARTICLE XVI.

OF THE NUMBER OF SACRAMENTS.

The sixteenth pretended error of Papists is, their doctrine in Seven Sacraments, p. 22.

ANSWER.

An easy way of finding out the true number of sacraments, is to consider what this word sacrament means. And for this I am content to stand to the definition of the short catechism of the church of England, where the questions and answers are as follows. Q. "What do you mean by the word sacrament? A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." Let us then see, whether the five sacraments rejected by the Catechist will not stand the test of this definition as well as the two he allows of; that is, whether they have not an outward sign and an inward grace of God's institution?

1. In Confirmation, the outward sign is the imposition or laying on of the bishop's hands: the inward grace is receiving the Holy Ghost after baptism, *Acts* viii. 14. 17. and xix. 6.

2. In Penance, the inward grace is the remission of sin, and the outward sign, is the priest's absolution. *St. John*, xx. 22, 23.

3. In Extreme-Uction, the inward grace consists chiefly in a special strength to overcome the difficulties and temptations incident to our last combat; and the visible and outward sign, is prayer and oil, with which the sick person is anointed. *James*, v. 14.

4. In Holy Orders, the outward sign is imposition of hands, &c. mentioned by St. Paul, 2. *Tim.* i. 6. and the inward grace in the persons ordained, is the power of administering the sacraments and grace to live up to their character.

5. In Matrimony, the outward signs are the words or tokens expressing the mutual consent of the parties; and a holy union of their hearts in perfect love is the inward grace. For it cannot be imagined that Christ would confine marriage to one person as he does, and that for life (*Matt.* xix. 6.) without such an allowance of grace, as may make the burden supportable. 'Matrimony,' (says the church of England in the solemnizing of it) 'is a holy state in-

stituted of God, in the time of man's innocency, and consecrated by Christ to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented, the spiritual marriage and unity between Christ and his church.' It seems then, that Christ has raised it to something above what it was before, viz. to be an excellent mystery. This we call a sacrament, and so does St. Paul, *Eph.* v. 32. Yet our Catechist is positive, that there are but two sacraments, viz. Baptism and the Lord's supper, *p.* 22. But the church of England's catechism is not so positive; for it only says, 'that Christ has only instituted two, as generally necessary to salvation;' which no Roman Catholic denies. For all are not bound to marry; nor are all bound to take Holy Orders. Nay if a baptised infant dies in the state of innocence, he needs no other sacrament but Baptism to make him eternally happy.

But how does the Catechist prove, that there are but two sacraments? The reason he gives is, 'because there are not sufficient parts in any of the other five to make them sacraments:' which he pretends to prove from the following text: "add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar," *Prov.* xxx. 6. But this text has just as much relation to the number of sacraments, as it has to the hours of the day, or months of the year. However he is so good, as to trifle away but this one text in the present article.

ARTICLE XVII.

OF READING THE BIBLE IN THE VULGAR TONGUE.

The seventeenth pretended error of Papists is, that they forbid the Bible to be read in any vulgar tongue. p. 3.

ANSWER.

This is a mistake; because the bible is translated into the vulgar tongues of all countries, where the Roman Catholic religion is professed; and I presume translations are made for some use, nor do I know any other use they are designed for than that they may be read. All then that is forbid is the people's reading them without leave. And where is the inconvenience of it? Can there ever be any harm in practising humility, or paying a submission and obedience to the pastors of the church? Will the word of God be less understood or profit less when it is read with leave than without it? I should rather think it profitable that reading it with the leave of those, whom God has appointed to be our guides, will be attended with a larger share of his blessing, than when it is read independently of their allowance: nay, I fear that they who are too proud to ask leave, will not be humble enough to read it with the Christian dispositions they ought to have.

But has not every man as much a natural right to read the word of God, for the nourishment of his soul, as he has to his meat for the nourishment of his body? And would it not be a tyrannical law to forbid men to eat without asking leave? I answer first, the parity would hold if it were true, that as meat cannot nourish our bodies unless we eat it ourselves; so the word of God cannot nourish our souls unless we read it ourselves; which I shall shew to be a mistake. And therefore though it would be a tyrannical law to forbid men to eat without asking leave, it is no tyrannical law to forbid them to read the scriptures without a permission from their superiors; especially if reading them be attended (as I shall shew it often is) with some degree of danger; and then the case is parallel with that of sick persons, who are not allowed to eat meat without the approbation of their physicians, because it may be too strong a nourishment for them.

But I answer 2dly, that there are several things to which men have a natural right, and yet a restraint may justly and without any tyranny be laid upon the use of them by legislative power. As for example, all mankind has a natural right to marriage, and yet St. Paul forbade widows consecrated to God to marry under pain of eternal damnation, 1 *Tim.* v. 11, 12. As likewise both the first and fourth general councils forbid the marriage of bishops and priests after their ordination, and several provincial or national councils even more ancient than they have done the same.

But to keep within the very example of eating proposed in the objection, it is certain mankind has equally a natural right to all sorts of meats: yet the primitive Christians were forbid by the council of Jerusalem to eat blood and things strangled, *Acts* xv. And was this an unjust or tyrannical encroachment upon their natural right?

In the like manner the ancient church (for whose discipline Protestants pretend to have a great respect) commanded the fasts of Lent, Ember-days, and vigils, (still religiously observed by the church of Rome) by virtue of which command the faithful are deprived not only of the use of flesh, but likewise of the liberty of eating more than one full meal a day. And yet they have as much a natural right to flesh and more meals than one in the forty days of Lent, and other fasting days commanded by the church, as they have upon other days. It is therefore a mistake to say, that the church's legislative power cannot for just reasons forbid to lay a restraint upon the use of things, to which we have a natural right; and if her exercise of this power be no tyranny in the things I have mentioned, I see no reason why her laying a restraint upon reading the scriptures in vulgar tongues should be stigmatized with that odious name.

But do not all Christians stand in need of being nourished with the word of God? And how can they be nourished with it unless

they read it? I answer, all stand most certainly in need of being nourished with the word of God: but the people's reading it themselves is neither the only way to have this spiritual nourishment conveyed to them, nor the safest for all. I prove the first from a remarkable instance of the first Christians converted by the apostles, who were undoubtedly the best Christians that ever were in God's church: and yet they never read, at least that part of the word of God, which contains the Christian law, and was writ expressly for the instruction of Christians, I mean the New Testament. For they could not read it before it was written. Since therefore those excellent Christians were undoubtedly nourished with the same word of God, as is now delivered to us in those divine writings, and had the doctrine of the gospel in their hearts, without having the scriptures in their hands, it is manifest that the want of reading may be effectually supplied by other means, and the word of God conveyed to the people as far as is necessary for the spiritual nourishment of their souls, and conduct of the lives, without putting the Bible in vulgar languages promiscuously into their hands.

I add, that there are great numbers of excellent Christians amongst the poorer sort, who cannot read at all, yet are not therefore deprived of the word of God as far as it is necessary to nourish their souls in solid piety and virtue. Nay, I heartily wish there were many such Christians in the world as there are in our English monasteries abroad: yet the greatest part of these being ignorant of the languages of the countries they live in, cannot read the Bible translated into those languages; neither are they furnished with English translations. And how then have they the word of God, and the true spirit of the gospel communicated to them? For it cannot be doubted, but their souls are nourished with it, and their whole lives guided by it. The question is easily answered: they receive it partly from the mouth of their pastors, like the primitive Christians; and have besides the help of many pious books written by persons filled with the spirit of God, by means whereof they are furnished with all the evangelical maxims that are necessary to form their lives after the model of the Gospel; to inspire them with a hatred to sin, to strengthen their faith, nourish their hope, inflame their hearts with the love of God, and encourage them to go on perseveringly in all the most difficult and laborious exercises of a penitential life.

It is therefore plain that reading the scriptures is not the only way to nourish Christians with the word of God, since there are numberless excellent Christians, who are plentifully supplied with this spiritual nourishment another way; and the best Christians that ever were in the world, received it from the mouth of their pastors.

But as putting the scriptures into the hands of the people is not the only way to instruct them either in their faith or morals, so neither is it the safest for all: and we need no other proof of this

than the example of millions, who have read them, and continue to this day to read them to their own destruction. I shall only instance in the Quakers, who of all people in the world, apply themselves most to the reading of scriptures; nay, there is scarce a Quaker woman but who shall outcap the ablest divine of any other religion in scripture texts. Yet I think it is very plain, they are the most deluded people upon the face of the earth. And what is the source of this their unhappy condition? it is wholly owing to their abuse and misinterpretation of scriptures. Their souls are starved and in the midst of darkness, whilst they have the bread of life, and the light of the gospel in their hands. For though the word of God be the bread of life to humble and pious souls, and a clear lamp to guide all their steps in the way to salvation, it becomes a mortal poison and source of seduction to such proud spirits, as have the presumption to read it with an entire dependence on their own judgment and capacity: so that we may truly apply to the word of God, what is said of the blessed sacrament, to wit, *mors est malis vita bonis*; it is life to the good, and death to the proud and perverse; as likewise what Simeon said of Christ himself: viz. that "he was set for the fall and rising again (that is the ruin and salvation) of many in Israel," *Luke ii. 34*. The word of God is most certainly a source of life and salvation to those, who read it with an humble disposition, and make use of the lights they ought to read it by; but the pride and presumption of those, who read it without a due submission to the guides of God's appointment has, in all ages, made it the occasion of the ruin of numberless souls, but never more than in these latter ages, wherein a boundless liberty of reading and interpreting the Bible, has produced as many religions, as there were anciently gods amongst the heathens: which fully justifies the church's conduct in laying a restraint upon it; yet so that persons of an approved and solid virtue may not be deprived of the benefit of it.

But is it then possible a Christian should receive any harm by reading the word of God? St. Peter has already answered this question for me. For speaking of St. Paul's epistles, in "which, (says he) are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures unto their own destruction," 2. *Pet. iii. 16*. This is plain. However I answer it 2dly, by proposing a question of the same nature: Is it then possible a Christian should receive any harm by receiving the sacred body and blood of Christ? yes, surely, for "if he receives them unworthily, he receives judgment to himself, 1 *Cor. xi. 27*. because there is nothing so holy, but may be abused. It is true indeed, the word of God cannot of itself prejudice any one: but as a person that eats good meat may hurt himself by receiving it into a foul stomach, so may he likewise hurt himself by reading the word of God with a corrupt heart,

But will it not then follow, that the blessed sacrament may also be

taken away from the people on account of the frequent abuses and prophanations of it? I answer, no. Because there are two material disparities between reading the scriptures and receiving the sacrament. The first is, that our souls cannot be made partakers of the spiritual nourishment or proper virtue of the sacrament, unless we receive it, but we may be nourished with the word of God without our own reading it, as I have fully shewed. The second is, that there is no positive precept obliging the church to put the scriptures into the hands of the people, but there is a positive precept obliging all that are come to the use of reason to receive the sacrament, *John* vi. 53. And no power upon earth can reverse or make void a divine precept, though ever so much abused.

But do not Papists lay hold of this pretencemerely to lock up the word of God from the people, and keep them in the dark? I answer, there would be some colour for the objection, if the people could not come to such a knowledge of the word of God, as is sufficient for the conduct of their lives, but by their own reading.—But I presume, a man that has a light carried before him, may see as well by it as if he had it in his own hand. Is a sick-man left without proper means of his cure, who receives his prescriptions from his physician? or are the people deprived of the benefit of the law, because they do not study it themselves? now this comes fully up to the case in question. For as God has provided the people with physicians to direct them in the care of their bodies, and with men skilled in the law to assist them in the management of their temporal concerns, so has he more effectually appointed bishops and pastors to instruct them in their way to salvation.—These make it their principal business to study the scriptures, both for themselves and the people. Because they are bound as pastors to feed the flock; and dispense to them the bread of life. “Let a man (says St. Paul) so account of us as the ministers of Christ, and the stewards of the ministers of God, *1 Cor.* iv. 1. From whom then are the people to receive the word of God, but from the ministers appointed by God himself? these are the physicians of their souls; these are the lawyers God has given them to interpret the evangelical law, by which they are bound to govern their lives. And this is so far from locking up the word of God from the people, or keeping them in ignorance, that whoever will but judge according to the dictates of reason must acknowledge, that in relation to many it is fully shewed, and the most advantageous for their instruction in the knowledge of it, as far as is necessary for the conduct of their lives.

What! is it reasonable to say, that the word of God is hid from the people, because they have their pastors to instruct them in it? are they kept in ignorance, because they have men more learned than themselves to be their teachers? or is the multitude a better judge of scripture, and more able to discover the truth by their own reading, than those whom God has placed over them for their in-

struction, and who have spent the best part of their lives in the study of it?

But is it not to be suspected, that all this is but a pretence, and the true reason of not putting the scriptures promiscuously into all hands, is to keep the common people from discovering the errors and follies of their religion? this indeed, is the good-natured turn some Protestants give to it. But nothing can be more eminently absurd. Because, if there were any solid ground to fear the making any such discovery, I ask, whether of the two would be best able and most likely to do it, the learned or unlearned? surely the learned. Yet these have no restraint laid upon them, for fear of their making this discovery; and is it not then ridiculous to say, that the reason why tradesmen and mechanics, and other persons of no learning, have this restraint laid upon them, is to keep them from discovering the errors and follies of their religion? a man must be strangely blinded with prejudice not to see the absurdity of this calumny. Nor can it possibly be maintained without supposing that the generality of Papists, as soon as they become learned men, turn such profligate villains, that though they clearly see the errors and follies of their religion in the scriptures, they run on headlong to perdition, and suffer their dearest friends and relations to do the same, rather than make a discovery of them. Nay, it must be supposed, that all the learned men of Christendom were guilty of this villainy for many ages together: which uncharitable supposition, though the Catechist may be capable of it, will not, I hope, be entertained by many.

But let us hear what he says for himself. He tells us "the scriptures were written for the use of the common people, and therefore should be translated into known tongues." p. 4. Well, if that will satisfy him, they are translated into all known tongues, and it cannot be doubted but they were written for all. But the question is, whether it may not be safer and more profitable for many to have them read and explained to them by their pastors, than to have them in their own hands to interpret them according to the caprice of their own private judgment? We see what a fruitful spawn of jarring sects ignorance has produced in Germany, England, and Holland, by the use of the bible in the vulgar tongue. Dr. Walton, a learned Protestant, complains with a great deal of reason of their prodigious increase. And probably the sun has not yet seen one half of their number. For errors have no end.

However the Catechist attacks us with a formidable host of seven scriptural texts. But as their number makes their whole strength, when they are singled out one by one their weakness will appear.

His first text from *Deuteronomy* xxxi. 11. is most strangely wide from the purpose. It contains a command, which Moses laid upon the sons and priests of Levi (9.) that at the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release (10.) the law (contained

in the book of *Deuteronomy*) should be read before all Israel in their hearing, (11.) and this latter scrap of the text is brought by him for a proof, that the people ought to have the scriptures put into their own hands, which is most wonderfully to the purpose.

A second text from *Acts* xv. 21, is still less to the purpose than the former. They are St. James's words in the council of Jerusalem, saying, "that Moses, in old times, has in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath day." Now what a strange consequence is this: some part of the Mosaic law was read to the Jews on every Sabbath day, therefore the people ought to have the scriptures put into their own hands!

A third text is taken from *Apoc.* i. 3. where St. John writes thus: "blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein!" But are not they who hear, pronounced blessed in this text as well as they who read? Yes, surely. Reading therefore, is not absolutely necessary; but the principal blessing is doubtless pronounced on those, who keep the things that are written; for without keeping neither reading nor hearing will avail them any thing, and they who hear the things written may keep them as well as they that read them.

His fourth text is this: "whereby when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ, *Eph.* iii, 4. Whence it can only be concluded, that St. Paul doubted not but the Ephesians would read the epistles he wrote to them. And does any man doubt of it?

His fifth text is as follows: "when this epistle is read among you, cause it that it be read also in the church of the Laodicians, and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea, *Col.* iv. 16. Now this epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians was written principally to serve as an antidote against the poisonous doctrines spread amongst them by some seducers. But as some of the Laodicians, their near neighbours, had partaken of the infection, the apostles ordered his epistles to be also read in the church of Laodicea. However, since it is impossible that the copy he sent them should immediately be put into the hands of every body, his ordering it to be read among them could not mean that every body should read it, but that their pastors (of which I presume they were not destitute) should read it to their respective congregations, and explain it to them if any difficulty should occur. And is it not likewise the practice in our parish-churches upon Sundays and holy days, to explain some part of the word of God to the people?

This answers his sixth text; to wit, "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren," 1 *Thes.* v. 27, For all that follows from it is, that St. Paul undoubtedly intended that his epistles should be read to those, for whose instruction they were expressly written; which the Catechist needed not to have informed us of.

His seventh text is; "search the scriptures: for in them ye think ye have eternal life," *John* v. 39. It is very sure the Jews were not mistaken in thinking, that eternal life was to be found in the scriptures, and yet they found it not, because adhering slavishly to the letter (which killeth according to St. Paul) they were wholly ignorant of the true spirit of the scriptures, which alone gives life: and so, instead of finding eternal life in the scriptures, they gained to themselves eternal death, by reading them with perverse and corrupt hearts, as many do to this very day.

But do not these words, search the scriptures, contain a positive command? I answer first, that it is very doubtful whether they be a true translation; for both the Greek and Latin may be faithfully Englished thus. **YOU SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES.** Nay, several ancient fathers understood them so; as Estius, a learned commentator observes; and so no consequence can be drawn from them.

But, I answer 2dly, that allowing of the English translation, they contain no command any more, than if I, disputing against a Protestant, should say to him, examine your own Bible, and you will find this or that point of Catholic doctrine clearly taught in it. Now surely no man will say, that this would be commanding my Protestant adversary to read and examine the Bible, but only referring him to it for a proof of the Catholic doctrine. In like manner, the obvious and natural meaning of Christ's saying to the Jews, search the scriptures, can be no other than his referring them to the testimony of their own scriptures for proof of the capital point he was then preaching to them. Nay, I dare appeal to the judgment of any intelligent Protestant, whether this be not perfectly consonant to the whole context of the chapter, from whence the aforesaid text is taken?

I conclude from what has been said, that there is no law, either natural or divine, that obliges the church to put the scriptures promiscuously into the hands of all sorts of persons: and if there be no such law, it is manifest the church has full power and authority to make what regulations she judges most conducing to the good of souls.

It is true that several ancient fathers, and particularly St. Chrysostom, recommended the reading of scriptures to persons of all states and conditions; nay, exhorted them earnestly to it: and it cannot be doubted but a true zeal for the good of souls prompted them to it. But as laws, though ever so good in themselves, are not so respectively to all times or places, so neither are all practices, though authorised by the recommendation of the greatest men, because they may be excellently good at one time, and unseemable at another. And therefore, as it would be a presumption to censure those fathers, for promoting the general reading of scriptures in their times, so I cannot give a softer name to the clamours of Protestants against the conduct of the church, in laying a restraint in after-times upon the liberty formerly granted. Be-

cause there being no law, either natural or divine, commanding the one or prohibiting the other, it is but equitable to judge her pastors, who are now animated with the same spirit and zeal for the good of souls under their charge as in former times; though they differ from them in their measures. In a word, although the faith and spirit of the church be unalterable, her discipline may vary according to the exigencies of times, as it has done in many other instances.

ARTICLE XVIII.

OF PRAYERS IN AN UNKNOWN TONGUE.

The eighteenth pretended error of Papists is, their preaching and praying in an unknown tongue, p. 17.

ANSWER.

Preaching in an unknown tongue is a strange thing indeed. But surely the Catechist knew not what he said, when he accused us of it. As to what he calls praying in an unknown tongue, it seems to me very strange, that after the experience of near one thousand five hundred years, it should be brought into question, whether the Catholic church was wise enough to know, what language to say her public prayers in? and what is still more surprising, that laymen or private pastors should first by their own authority, presume to break through a law, which they found established by the practice of the whole Christian church, and afterwards pretend to justify their separation by it, as if a matter of discipline (supposing they changed it for the better) could wipe off the guilt of schism?

But (says the Catechist) saying public prayers in a tongue not understood by the common people, is against the custom of the primitive church. I answer, 1st, that eating blood, and things strangled, is also against the custom of the primitive church; nay, against the express command of the apostles assembled in council at Jerusalem, *Acts* xv. But is it therefore unlawful now? I hope not: because though the faith of the church be unalterable, her discipline may be changed, provided it be done in a canonical way, and by lawful authority.

I answer, 2dly, that the church-service in the primitive times was performed in the very same language which is used at present. And if it be not as well understood as formerly, it is not because the church has made any alteration in her language, but because all vulgar tongues are in a perpetual change. When she preaches to the people, she does it in their language: but when she prays to God for them, she takes the liberty of doing it in that tongue, in

which her public service has been offered to God in all ages ever since the apostles: that so there may not only be an uniformity in the divine service, wherever it is performed, though in the most distant countries; but that such priests or bishops, as are obliged to travel abroad, may be as capable of performing their functions in foreign countries, as at home. Nor is the method peculiar to the Catholic church. All the oriental schismatics, how different soever, as Greeks, Ethiopians, Indians, Muscovites, &c., say Mass. But I do not find, that any of them do it in the vulgar languages. The Greeks use the liturgies, which (according to their tradition) were made by St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; that is, in the old Greek; of which the common people, as Mr. Brerewood in his enquiries says, understand little or nothing, Ch. 2. p. 12. The Ethiopians and Armenians say Mass in the old Ethiopian and Armenian tongue, which none but scholars understand; *P. Sim. Crit. p. 7.* The Syrians, Indians, and Egyptians, say Mass in Syriac, though Arabic be their vulgar language; as it is the Melchites and Georgians, who yet say Mass in Greek; which the Muscovites also do, though it be not the language of the people, who speak nothing but a kind of Selavonian. So that those who declaim so violently against their mother-church, for not having the public service in the vulgar tongue, have the universal practice of Christendom against them. And it is very remarkable, that no nation in the world, upon its first conversion to Christianity, ever made any difficulty to submit to this part of the church's discipline: so fully were they convinced of the reasonableness of it. But the reformers had another view; their business was to work the populace into an easy compliance with their designs. And to be sure a liturgy in their own mother-tongue, was so popular a condescension, as could not fail of working its desired effect.

But has not every national church an indisputable right to regulate and reform its own discipline as it thinks proper? I answer, that no less authority can change laws, than that which makes them; and therefore laws made by the authority of the whole church, can only be changed or resumed by the same legislative power? hence it is, that though every national church may have a right to regulate its own discipline, in such things as are not contrary to any ecclesiastical constitution of the universal church, yet no national church can have a right to break in upon laws established by and for the church in general. For these, when once received by common consent, are binding every where, until they are repealed by the same power that made them. Nay, if it were not so, every particular parish might reform away the ecclesiastical laws of its diocese, and every diocese those of its national church: conscience at least would not restrain them from doing it; and so no church-laws would be binding in the court of conscience, since not only every nation, but every diocese and parish, might reform and regulate their own discipline, just as they pleased: and I see

no reason, why every private family, nay, every individual person, might not claim the same right.

This shews, that the first reformers acted uncanonically, and exceeded their lawful power, when they pretended to reform the liturgy, which had not been introduced or established by a mere national law, but by a superior spiritual authority, which they themselves had acknowledged for several years, and had been acknowledged by the whole nation for nine hundred years together. And if such an authority can be thrown off at pleasure, we must strike out of the Bible this express command of St. Paul, "let every soul be subject to higher power," *Rom. xiii. 1.* and conclude he was grievously mistaken in saying, "that they who resist power, resist God, and shall receive damnation to themselves," *ver. 2.*

However the Catechist quotes against us, St. Paul, *1 Cor. xiv. 16, 25.* But whoever will but read that whole chapter with attention, will easily see that St. Paul speaks not a word in it of any liturgy, or set form of prayer, but only of sudden extemporary exhortations and prayers, which even lay-persons, by a miraculous gift of unknown tongues, uttered to the people in public assemblies without any interpretation of what they say. And in reference to these, St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "1. That speaking thus in an unknown tongue, without any interpreter does not edify the church. 2. That the clerk cannot say Amen to these prayers. And 3dly. That if any use this gift it must be interpreted."

These are the chief contents of that chapter, which is so ill objected against our having the Mass in the Latin tongue. For 1st, the Mass is not an exhortation to the people, but a sacrifice offered for the people to God, by the ministry of the priest. 2dly, the Mass is translated into vulgar languages, as likewise our vespers, litanies, exequies, and other public devotions: and so the people are not destitute of an interpreter, which St. Paul principally insists upon. 3dly, as to those who cannot read, even these do not want an interpreter, if they have but eyes to see; because the Mass being a sacrifice, performed with many outward ceremonies, is an action rather than prayer; and actions are known by seeing, as words are by hearing.

In effect, the people know that the mysteries of our Saviour's passion are represented in the several parts of the Mass; and if they can but bring their hearts, filled with faith, love, repentance, and other such acts of devotion, there is no need of understanding the words; for the sight is as much as is necessary: however since they are assured that the priest prays for them, they can have no difficulty to say Amen to all his prayers. I add that Latin, which is the common language of scholars, is not in the sense of St. Paul an unknown tongue. For he wrote to the Romans in Greek, as St. Gerom observes, *Ep. 123*, and all learned Protestants will easily grant, either then he wrote to them in an unknown tongue

which is highly absurd, or the common language of the learned is not to be accounted such.

ARTICLE XIX.

OF INDULGENCES.

The nineteenth pretended error of Papists is, their doctrine of Indulgences; to which he adds, that it is the belief of Protestants, that Papal indulgences are the worst of cheats, and abominable injuries to Christ and Christians. p. 19.

ANSWER.

These are hard words indeed, But I should wrong the Catechist to expect justice or good manners of him towards Papists, I shall however be so charitable to him, as to do my best to disabuse him, by letting him know both what indulgences are, and what they are not. First, then, indulgences are not a license to commit sins, as some Protestant authors have most falsely asserted. Secondly, they are not a pardon of sins past, which are only remitted by the sacrament of penance and contrition, What are they then? I answer, they are a release of temporal punishment due to sins repented of, confessed, and already pardoned as to the guilt.

The bishop of Meaux, in his exposition of the Christian doctrine, translated into English, An. 1672, p. 63. gives the following account of them. 'When the church imposes upon sinners, painful and laborious works, and they undergo them with humility, this is called satisfaction. And when, regarding the favour of the penitents, or some other good works which she has prescribed them, she pardons some part of the pain due to them, this is called indulgence:' of which the council of Trent has only defined this: 'That the power to grant them has been given to the church by Jesus Christ, and that the right use of them is very beneficial:' *Sess. 25. de Indulg.*

This power granted to the church by Christ, was exercised by St. Paul in relation to the incestuous Corinthian, whom he had put under penance; but upon request of the Corinthians, who interceded for him, and least too long a punishment should drive him to despair, he released a part of it by the authority he had from Jesus Christ, 2 *Cor.* xi. 6, 7, 10. This power was also exercised by the primitive bishops, in favour of public penitents. For they often shortened the time of their penance upon the intercession of the holy confessors, who were in prison, and had suffered great torments for the faith of Christ. I presume the Catechist was not so well versed in this subject, as to know these things. For had he known them, he would perhaps have been more moderate than to

call Papal indulgences the worst of cheats, and abominable injuries to Christ and Christians.

But let us hear his proofs. The first is, because (says he) 'there is no pardon of sin, but by the mercy of God through the blood of Christ,' *Rom.* v. 1 and *Eph.* i. 7. All this is very orthodox, but nothing to the purpose; because indulgences are not a pardon of sins, but a release of temporal punishments due to them. And even this is not granted but by the power given to the church, by Jesus Christ, and through his sacred blood and the mercies of God.

His second proof is, because there is no such thing in scripture, that the merits of one saint should be able to make satisfaction for the sins of another. But I hope it is plain in scripture, that the merits of Jesus Christ are able to make satisfaction for the sins even of all mankind, and all indulgences have their validity from his infinite merits. However I answer it is very plain in scripture, that the prayers of saints have often appeased God's wrath, and stopped his hand from punishing the sins of others so severely, as they had deserved; and it cannot be doubted, but it was the faith and virtuous behaviour of those saints that rendered their prayers so available in the sight of God. Thus God Almighty sent Eliphaz to his servant Job, to be prayed for by him, with his assurance, "for him will I accept, lest I deal with you after your folly," *Job.* xiii. 8.—Thus likewise, when God was grievously offended at the mutiny of the Israelites against Moses, he had resolved to send a plague amongst them to destroy them, he was appeased upon the earnest supplication of Moses, and answered him, "I have pardoned them according to thy word," *Num.* xiv. 20, to wit, the temporal punishment he had designed to inflict upon them.

The Catechist's third and last proof is, because (says he) Christ needed not any merits of saints to be added to his satisfaction.—This is most certainly true, because the satisfaction Christ has made for us is of an infinite value: and whatever is infinite cannot need any thing to be added to it. But will the Catechist infer from thence, that therefore we need not do penance for our sins, nor receive the sufferings God sends us in the spirit of penance? if he does, he gives the lie to the word of God in a thousand places. Nay, there is not a truth more certain, than that we are bound to punish our sins, and do penance for them, notwithstanding the infinite satisfaction made by Christ.

But why are we bound to do this, if Christ has fully satisfied the divine justice, and stands in no need of having our satisfaction joined to his? The reason is, because Christ having purchased an absolute dominion over us with the infinite price of his blood, it cannot be disputed but he may lay what terms or conditions he pleases upon us as means, without which the price he has paid down shall not be applied to us. And therefore, though it be certainly true, that having satisfied superabundantly for us, he might have applied that satisfaction to us without subjecting us to any penal works or tem-

poral sufferings, after the guilt of sin, together with its eternal punishment, was remitted, yet it pleased his infinite wisdom, both for our greater good and the manifestation of his justice as well as mercy, to establish things upon another footing, by changing the eternal punishment into a temporal one, and obliging us to purchase the fruits and application of his infinite satisfaction by doing worthy fruits of penance, and submitting humbly and patiently to the sufferings he shall think fit to lay upon us. And it is this we call satisfaction, which (to express myself in the very words of the bishop of Meaux, p. 68) 'is in effect but an application of the infinite satisfaction made by Jesus Christ,' whether to ourselves or others.

Whence it follows, that though Christ needs not our sufferings or penal works to be added to his satisfaction, he requires them of us. And unless we submit to the laws he has thought fit to impose upon us, we render ourselves unworthy of becoming partakers of the happiness, he has purchased for us.

ARTICLE XX.

OF MERITS.

The twentieth pretended error of Papists is. the doctrine of Merits, p. 14.

ANSWER.

This is a dispute merely about a word; and I dare confidently say the thing we really mean by it is so uncontestable a truth, that no man who pretends to reason and religion, can deny it. Our doctrine then of merit is this.

1. That no man can be justified but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ; and that only those are justified, to whom the merits of his passion are communicated.

2. That sin is forgiven us by the pure mercy of God through Jesus Christ, without any merit or desert on our side.

3. That none of the acts, which in the conversion of a sinner precede his justification, whether they be faith or good works, can merit this grace.

4. That good works after justification are not equal to the reward of future happiness; and that they are not acceptable to God, but as they proceed from the grace, and derive their value from the merits of Jesus Christ.

5. That we can do nothing of ourselves in order to salvation, nor even have a good thought.

6. That there is no merit but what is a gift of God through Jesus Christ, and of which no man can glory. Whence it follows (as the council of Trent speaks with St. Austin) that when God crowns our merits, he only crowns his own gifts.

7. That God has promised eternal life as a reward to those who serve him faithfully in this life: according to these words of St. James: "blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord has promised to them that love him," *James i. 12.*

8. That this promise contains a covenant, or bargain between God and man; whereby it is stipulated, that such and such conditions shall be performed on the part of man; and that when these conditions are performed, God, whose word is the strongest security a man can have, will bestow eternal life upon him. This is God's covenant with man; and it follows plainly from it, that our performing the conditions imposed upon us, gives us a title to the reward promised upon those conditions; and this is precisely our meaning of what we call the merit of eternal life.

But since our works are not equal to the rewards, how can we be said to merit or deserve it? I answer, our works are certainly unequal to the reward: nay, though we did ten thousand times more, they would still fall short of it; because God has been so bountiful as to promise us a reward infinitely surpassing our works. But still it is a reward, and a reward promised upon such conditions as he was pleased to impose. And if God's sacred promise be sufficient to ground a sure and just title, they who perform the conditions, upon which Heaven is promised, have the sure and just title to it that a man can have to any thing.

I shall propose a familiar example to explain myself: suppose a person of a generous temper should promise me a thousand pounds for a service not worth the tenth part of it, though such a promise would be an effect of pure generosity, because no man is bound to reward a service beyond its full value; yet, upon my performance of the service stipulated, I should have as just a claim to the whole sum, by virtue of his promise, as if I had performed a service equivalent to it in all respects.

Now this is a true representation of our case in reference to Almighty God. For though his promise of eternal life to such as serve him faithfully was an act of pure bounty, as exceeding infinitely all the service we can render him, yet when we have served him according to the conditions stipulated, it is but common sense to say we have a title to the promised reward, not in regard of our works considered in themselves, but in virtue of his promise. All which is fully declared by the council of Trent in the following words: 'to those who place their confidence in God, and continue in the practice of good works, eternal life ought to be proposed, both as a grace mercifully promised to the children of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward faithfully to be rendered by virtue of that promise to their good works and merits.' *Sess. 6. C. 16.*

After this there can be no need of answering the Catechist's objections. Yet I shall say a word or two to what is most material.

His first text, to the best of my judgment, proves very clearly the

doctrine of merits. It is this, "unto thee O Lord belongeth mercy, for thou renderest to every man according to his works," *Psal.* lxii. 12. Whence I argue thus: since it is most certain that God will render to every man, that is, reward every man according to his works, it follows, that as hell-fire will be the just reward of evil works, so eternal life will be the just reward of good works in virtue of the covenant God has made with men. Because as he has threatened the one, so has he promised the other; and God is as just to his promises as to his threats.

His second text is, "if by grace, then it is no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace;" *Rom.* xi. 6. I answer, the apostle's intent in these words was to convince the converted Jews at Rome, that their election to the faith of Christ was not owing to their preceding works under the law, but purely to the grace of Jesus Christ. And will the Catechist infer from thence, that after their conversion to the faith they were not bound to secure their salvation by the practice of good works? or that these are not conducing to salvation? if he does, he contradicts these words of Christ, "if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," *Matt.* xix. 17. As likewise those of St. Paul, "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of Justice, which God the just judge will give me at that day," *2 Tim.* iv. 8.

His third text is, "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us," *Tit.* iii. 5. I answer: St. Paul's words to Titus, if quoted fully at length, explain themselves: they are thus; "but after the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, not by the works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour:" whence it appears, that St. Paul speaks here of the first grace of justification by baptism, which no one can merit. Because the happy state of being justified is itself one of the conditions requisite for merit: whence it follows, that though it be true that we are saved or damned according to our works, it is likewise true that we are saved by the grace of Jesus Christ, which alone can make our works be conducing to salvation.

His fourth is, "hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ," *1 Pet.* i. 13. whence the Catechist concludes, that salvation is a pure grace. I answer, it is both a grace and a debt: it is a debt in consequence or by virtue of God's promise; and it is a grace, 1st, because God was not bound to make us any such promise. 2dly, Because our very merits are his gifts. 'Eternal life,' says St. Augustin, 'is called the gift of God, not because it is not given to merits, but because the merits themselves to which it is given are likewise his gift.' *Ep.* 105. *ad Sicutum* Cap. 5.

The fifth is, "what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now

if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it," 1 *Cor.* iv. 7. Very right. Because whatever virtue or good we practise is not only the gift of God, but derives all the merit it has from the grace and merits of Jesus Christ; and therefore we have no reason to glory in any thing.

The sixth is, "ye are not your own," 1. *Cor.* vi. 19. Who doubts it? But I see no other consequence to be drawn from this text, than that our very merits are the gifts of God, and that we are bound to employ our whole lives in his service.

The seventh is, "it is God worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure," *Phil.* ii. 13. This again is without all dispute; because without the help of his grace we can do nothing in order to salvation, nor perform the duties, by which eternal life is to be merited.

But now comes the terrible text, "When you have done all you can, say that ye are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do," *Luke* xvi. 10.

I venture however to answer, that though we be unprofitable servants we still are servants, and work for wages; and the wages promised us is eternal life.

But why are we unprofitable servants, even when we have done all we are commanded? The reason is plain; because we are wholly unprofitable to God, who receives no profit by our services or good works. Neither does he stand in need of his servants, but his servants stand in need of him. Yet since we are his servants, when we have done all we are commanded, we have a title to the wages he has promised. For a covenant, contract, or bargain holds between God and man, as well as between man and man; and God, who is just, will most certainly pay us our wages according to the works we have done, because "He will render to every man according to his deeds," *Matt.* xvi. 27.

But we are over and above unprofitable servants in another sense, even when we have done all we are commanded. 1. In relation to ourselves, because if we had served God millions of years, the reward of eternal life would not be due, unless he had mercifully engaged his word for it: and 2dly, in relation to God; because "we are insufficient of ourselves even to think any thing as ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God," 2 *Cor.* iii. 5. So that we can do nothing of what we are commanded in order to salvation, unless we be enabled by God's grace to do it. And can any thing be more unprofitable than a servant that can do nothing without the help of his master?

ARTICLE XXI.

OF WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION.

The twenty-first pretended error of Papists is, their works of Supererogation.

ANSWER.

This too is only a trifling question about a word. For we do not mean by it that we do our whole duty and more, since "we all fail in many things," *James* iii. 2. But the only thing meant by it is, to wit, that though we all in many things come short of our duty, and do much less than God commands, yet every good action in particular is not commanded. And of this we have in the scripture several undeniable instances. "He that gives his virgin in marriage, does well: and he that gives her not in marriage, does better," *1. Cor.* vii. 38. That which St. Paul calls better is doubtless good; but if it were commanded, it would be a sin to do otherwise. And if we believe St. Paul, he that does otherwise does well. He says in the same chapter, "art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife," *v.* 27. This is only a counsel not a precept; for the words immediately following are these "but if thou marry thou hast not sinned." And to act against a precept is doubtless a sin.

St. Luke tells us of the first Christians. That, "as many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the feet of the apostles, to be distributed to every one as he had need;" *Acts* iv. 34, 35. This was certainly a good action. But if the Catechist has either houses or lands of his own, I will venture fifty to one, that his religion will not oblige him to follow the example. And what is this but to grant, that every good action in particular is not commanded? So that whenever we do any thing we are not absolutely bound to do, this we call a work of supererogation: and if the Catechist can furnish me with a more proper word to express this truth, I promise him to make use of it hereafter.

ARTICLE XXII.

OF JUSTIFICATION.

The twenty-second pretended error of Papists is, their corrupting the doctrine of justification: then he sets down the two following questions and answers. Q. Wherein do they corrupt doctrine of justification? A. They tell us we must be justified by our own righteousness, and that a perfect righteousness is within us. Q. What mean they by a perfect righteousness? A. Any degree of charity is their perfect righteousness, p. 16.

ANSWER.

could wish the Catechist had studied our divinity a little better,

or would learn to speak truth ; for there is not a true word in what he has said.

First, it is a fundamental article of our faith, that no man is justified, but by the pure mercy and grace of God, through the blood of Jesus Christ, as I have abundantly inculcated in the 20th article concerning merits. What therefore the Catechist says in his answer to the first question, viz. That it is our doctrine, that we are justified by our own righteousness, is no better than calumny ; and he might have saved himself the trouble of transcribing four long texts to prove, that we are justified freely by the grace of God. For they only serve to establish our doctrine.

2dly. We hold, that justice is not perfect in this life, because "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, *Gal.* v. 17. and "in many things we all offend," *James* iii. 2. So that although the sanctifying grace, we receive in baptism, and recover by the sacrament of penance, renders the soul acceptable to God, and entitles us to eternal bliss ; yet since concupiscence, which is the fuel of sin, remains within us, even they who are the adoptive children of God by grace, continue under great weakness and many imperfections ; in so much, that all pious souls are continually crying to God with the Psalmist, "wash me still more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin," *Psal.* li. 3. And indeed the principal business a Christian has upon his hands in this life, is to use serious endeavours to perfect himself still more and more by prayer, spiritual reading, frequenting the sacraments, and other such means as God has appointed for that end. It is therefore a mistake to say it is our doctrine, that there is a perfect righteousness within us, and that any degree of charity is this perfect righteousness ; for if we thought ourselves to have a perfect righteousness, all endeavours used by us to approach still nearer to it, would be useless and unnecessary.

We hold indeed, that the justice or righteousness we receive by baptism or penance, is not a mere external imputation of the righteousness of Christ to them that are justified, which the Catechist calls Protestant doctrine ; and it may be so for ought I know. But the sanctification of a sinner in scripture language is his justification ; and that a soul is inwardly sanctified, when habitually endued with the supernatural gifts of faith, hope, and charity, is a truth so evident, that to doubt of it would be to question the common sense of mankind. For how is it possible, a man should from a son of wrath, become the adoptive son of God and co-heir of Christ, without any manner of change made within him ? How can a soul, that is hateful to God by sin, become acceptable to him by grace, and yet remain in statu quo, without change or alteration ? this is a perfect riddle.

It is true the Psalmist says : "blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity," *Psal.* xxxii. 2. Because Almighty God imputes not to a man, the sins he has forgiven. Therefore the

same Psalmist says, "as far as the east is from the west, so far has he removed our transgressions from us, *Psal.* ciii. 12. It follows then, that there is a change made in the soul, because the sin she was guilty of is removed from her. She is defiled so long as her sins remain unpardoned; but as soon as they are pardoned, she is adorned with grace, and justice or righteousness enters into their place. And does not this make an inward change?

It is true again, the Psalmist pronounces him blessed, "whose sins are covered," *Psal.* xxxii. 1. But how are they covered? he explains himself in the same verse, "blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven." For sins are the wounds of our souls, and God's pardon is their cure; but no wound is cured by being only covered. Therefore when our sins are cured or pardoned, there is a change made in our souls; and it is made by the infusion of sanctifying grace.

Hence the Psalmist says, "create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me, *Psal.* li. 10.* And Almighty God speaks thus by the mouth of *Ezekiel*, xxxvi. 26. "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you:" which St. Paul calls, "a new creature," *Gal.* vi. 27. And he tells us, *Rom.* v. 5 That "the love of God is shed abroad within our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." It is therefore plain, that the righteousness which renders us acceptable to God, is truly within us, and not a mere external imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

ARTICLE XXIII.

OF ASSURANCE.

The twenty-third pretended error of Papists is, their denying the doctrine of assurance, p. 21. Then he puts the two following questions with their answers. Q. What say the Papists of it? A. That a believer's assurance of the pardon of his sins, is a vain ungodly confidence. Q. What is the Protestant's belief in this matter? A. That it is not only our privilege that we may, but our duty to labour after assurance, that our sins are pardoned, p. 21.

ANSWER.

It is our doctrine, that no man, without a special revelation from God, can have an absolute and infallible assurance, that all his past sins are forgiven; and the doctrine contrary to it can be nothing else but the fruit of a damnable presumption, the height of enthusiasm, and a mere spiritual madness. If Job, David, and St. Paul, had that assurance, they had it by revelation, which therefore can

* Douay—*Psal.* l. 10.

be no precedent to draw a consequence from, in reference to the ordinary rank of Christians. Nay, St. Paul exhorts all to "work out their salvation in fear and trembling," *Phil.* ii. 12. He does not mean an anxious fear, which as St. John says is expelled by perfect charity, but that fear which the Psalmist calls the "beginning or foundation of true wisdom," *Psal.* cxi. 10. as being the source of watchfulness, and the strongest guard against sin. In effect, I take it to be the best security of every Christian to keep his soul so balanced between hope and fear, that neither too great a confidence may swell him with presumption, nor an excessive fear cast him into dejection or despair.

As to the Catechist's answer to his 2d question, if he means no more, than that it is the duty of every Christian to use all diligence to secure his eternal salvation by a lively faith and the practice of good works, I know none he has to oppose him but Libertines and Atheists. For this is the very doctrine of St. Peter in the following text, "give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall," 2 *Pet.* i. 10. And the other texts the Catechist has quoted, prove no more. I add that they, who according to St. Peter's advice, labour with all diligence to make their calling and election sure, are not absolutely assured by faith that their calling and election is sure, for if they were, they would not need to labour to make it sure; and since we are bound to use this diligence during the whole course of our lives, it follows, that we never can have an absolute and infallible certainty of our salvation as long as we live. And, the safest way on our part to secure it is, to submit humbly to the condition of our mortal state; which is not a state of security, but a continual warfare or combat, in which the success is always conditional, and mixed on our side with some degree of uncertainty.

ARTICLE XXIV.

OF CELIBACY, OR THE SINGLE LIFE OF PRIESTS.

The twenty-fourth pretended error of Papists is, their forbidding priests to marry. Then he puts this question, what do Papists say to marriage itself? To which he answers. They do not forbid all marriage, but speak disgracefully and contemptuously of it, p. 19.

ANSWER.

It is not true that we speak contemptuously of it; for we believe marriage to be a sacrament; and it is not our practice to speak contemptuously of any sacrament whatsoever: but first we speak

with contempt of the marriage of fallen priests, because we believe their pretended marriage to be real sacrilege and adultery, and so did the ancient fathers speak of it, as I shall shew hereafter, 2dly, Though marriage legally contracted, be honourable in all, we are sure that celibacy, or a single life, is the perfecter state, if St. Paul has not deceived us. For he writes thus to the Corinthians; "I would (says he) that all men were even as myself; but every one has his proper gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that; I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I;" 1 *Cor.* vii. 7, 8. And again, "he that is unmarried (says the apostle) careth for the things that becometh to the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things that are of this world, how he may please his wife," 1 *Cor.* vii. 32, 33. Whence he concludes, 38.—"So then he that giveth his daughter in marriage, does well; but he that giveth her not, does better."

It was this induced the Catholic church in ancient times, particularly in the fourth and fifth century, to lay a restraint upon the marriage of persons engaged in holy orders. And she was directed to it by the very example of the apostles, of whom St. Jerom writes thus: 'the apostles (says he) either were virgins; or they who were married had no commerce with their wives.' He goes on thus: 'Bishops, priests, and deacons are either chosen virgins, or widowers; or at least abstain from their wives, after their ordination as long as they live.' *Epist.* 50, St. Epiphanius writes in the following manner: 'he that lives as a husband with his wife, though he never was twice married, is not admitted by the church to the order of a deacon, priest, bishop, or even sub-deacon. But only he, who either breaks off all commerce with his wife, or is deprived of her by death.' *Her.* 59.

What authentic witnesses are these of this ancient discipline of the church? but though they had been silent, the canons themselves, and decrees of councils, held even before the great council of Nice, would suffice to proclaim its antiquity. That of Elvira, under the great Osius, Ann. 300, forbids church-men the use of marriage, under pain of being deposed; *Can.* 33. The council held at Neocesarea, about the year 315, under Vitalis, bishop of Antioch, forbids priests to marry under the same penalty; *Can.* 1. Nay, by a statute of the council of Ancyra, held under the same prelate, even deacons were put under the same restraint, unless they entered their protests against it before their ordination; and therefore were supposed to be dispensed with by their bishop.

In the fifth age, it is manifest from the council of Chalcedon, *Can.* 14, that in some provinces, even those who had received the lesser orders as readers, were not allowed to marry. And I stand positively upon it, that there is no example in antiquity of any one bishop or priest, that ever was permitted by the church to marry, after he had received the order of priesthood.

The same is to be said of all those, whether men or women, who had consecrated themselves to God by solemn vows. In so much that as many as return to the world, or pretended to engage themselves in the bonds of wedlock, after the making of such vows, were in all antiquity looked upon as apostates from the faith, and worse than adulterers. 'I stick not to affirm, (says St. Austin) that the breach of a religious vow is worse than adultery.' *L. de bono Viduitatis*, C. 11. And St. Chrysostom speaks the same language in his epistle to Theodorus a fallen monk: 'Marriage (says this father) is a just and lawful thing, I grant it. Marriage is honourable in all and the bed undefiled. But now it is not a thing in your power; for being once joined to your heavenly Spouse, to leave him, and fall into the embraces of a wife, is adultery. Give it a thousand times if you please, the name of marriage, I say it is as much worse than adultery, as God is better and greater than woman kind.' Nay, St. Paul himself says of widows consecrated to God, that "when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having damnation; because they have cast off their first faith," 1 *Tim.* v. 11, 12. The reason whereof is plain, because the observance of vows freely made to God, are strictly commanded by God himself, in the following words, 'when thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it.—That which is gone out of thy lips, thou shalt keep and perform," *Duet.* xxiii. 21, 23.

I shall add but one thing more, viz. That the single life of bishops and priests is a matter of ecclesiastical government or discipline only: whence I infer, 1. That the church had always authority to make it a law, especially in regard of those that offer themselves freely to holy orders. How many private persons are there, that will not take servants into their families but upon condition, that they shall keep unmarried as long as they continue in their service? And shall not the church of Christ be allowed to make her conditions with those of her children, who desire to enter into her service, by presenting themselves voluntarily to holy orders? It is very hard she should not. Those, therefore, who are not disposed to perform the conditions upon which they are admitted, ought not to engage themselves.

I infer, 2. That as the church had authority to make such a law in the primitive times, so had she the same authority in after ages, to continue or enforce it. For I see no reason why the church of Christ should lose any part of her legislative power by time or age.

Whence I infer, 3. That the proceedings of the first reformers were most unwarrantable, in assuming a power to license the violation of a superior law, which had been recommended by the very example of the apostles, as I have proved from St. Jerom; had been consecrated by the practice of antiquity, and enjoined by the decrees of innumerable councils; and, what was still more scandal-

ous, to countenance the breach of the most sacred and solemn vows made to God himself. Such was the conscience and *religious piety* of the first reformers.

The Catechist's Objections Answered.

Let us now see what the Catechist alledges against this part of our discipline, which appears to be so just and honorable in all respects. He attacks it with his usual heat. For having put this question, what do Protestants say in this matter? he answers it thus: they say, that the Popish doctrine forbidding to marry, is devilish and wicked doctrine. It seems then St. Paul taught devilish and wicked doctrine, when he preached hell and damnation against widows that married after they had consecrated themselves to God. The council of Chalcedon, though received by the church of England, 1 *Eliz.* 1. if the Catechist argues right, taught likewise most wicked and devilish doctrine; for it declared, *Can.* 15. that if a deaconess married after she had been some time in the service of the church, both she and her husband should be excommunicated. And *Can.* 16. that it is not lawful for monks or virgins who are devoted to God to marry, and that they who do so shall be excommunicated.

But notwithstanding the fiery zeal of our Catechist, I hope not only St. Paul, but even the great council I have spoken of, will find credit enough in the world to be acquitted from diabolical doctrine; and so the church of Rome may make a fence to shelter herself under their authority. But what then does St. Paul mean, when he reckons forbidding to marry among the doctrines of devils, 1 *Tim.* iv. 3.

To this Dr. Hammond, *Paraphr.* p. 734, will answer for me, 'that he means forbidding marriage as a thing unlawful in itself, as the Gnostics began to do in St. Paul's time.' And as the disciples of Saturninus, Marcion, Tatian, Manichæus, and other heretics did in the first and second age after the apostles. For if he meant what the Catechist pretends, he would both condemn himself and it would follow, that forbidding to marry within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, would also be the doctrine of devils; and so the church of England would be guilty of teaching devilish and wicked doctrine, as well as the church of Rome.

This answers the last of the seven texts produced against us by the Catechist. Let us then see, whether the other six be any more to the purpose. I shall answer them in the same order as they are set down in the catechism.

The first is, 'all men cannot receive this saying, save those to whom it is given.' *Matt.* xix. 11. I answer, this text is wrong translated; for it ought to be translated thus, all men do not receive this saying. Now there is a large difference between not doing a thing, and not being able to do it.

The second is, "to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife," 1 *Cor.* vii. 2. Well, what then! will the Catechist infer from thence, that marriage is the only means to avoid fornication? if he does, St. Paul, who had no wife, yet was no fornicator, will rise in judgment against him for abusing the sense of his sacred words; nay he will draw upon himself the just indignation of numberless widows and widowers, maids and batchelors in Great Britain, who will tell him, they can live free from fornication without engaging themselves in the bands of wedlock. If therefore God's grace be not wanting to thousands among the laity, who live single to their very deaths, we cannot doubt but it flows more plentifully on those, who embrace the single state out of a pure zeal to devote themselves entirely to his service. Whence it is plain, St. Paul's words imply no general precept, but only an advice to those who, being under no engagements, are at full liberty to marry if they please, and find perhaps by experience, that marriage is the best security against their natural weakness.

But does not St. Paul say, "it is better to marry than to burn?" he does so; but he does not say that marriage is the only remedy against burning? Let us suppose a married man so unhappy as to hate his own wife, and at the same time burn for the wife of his neighbour, (I fear the case is not impossible) must he marry her? No surely. What then must he do? I believe St. Paul would advise him to have recourse to the remedies himself made use of against the buffets of Satan; that is, to prayer and mortification.—It is therefore plain, that there are other remedies, besides that of marriage, provided by Almighty God against the burnings of concupiscence; and these are the remedies, which persons engaged in holy orders and religious vows make use of, when they find themselves assaulted by unlawful desires. So that we may reasonably hope, matters are not so bad as the Catechist represents them, when he tells us, that forbidding to marry leads to much lewdness and villainy, as fornication, adultery, incest, &c. Nay if it does, St. Paul was highly to blame, when he debarred widows, devoted to God, the liberty of it.

His third text is, "have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas," 1 *Cor.* ix. 5. Here again the sacred word of God is put to the torture, to force it to speak the language of flesh and blood. For, 1. how could St. Paul, who had no wife, have the power to lead one about? 2. How is it probable the apostles should lead their wives about, since St. Jerome assures us positively, that they who were married, lived separated from the use of wedlock? But 3dly, the whole context shews that St. Paul speaks not of a wife, but of a woman or diaconista to attend him in his travels, and provide necessaries for him, probably out of her own substance.

This, I say, is proved from the context: for the whole drift of the chapter whence it is taken, (as appears from the title prefixed to it

in the Protestant bible) is to shew that ministers of the gospel must live by the gospel: "am I not (says St. Paul) an apostle? Are not you my work in the Lord?" 1. Have we not power to eat and drink?" 4. Then follows the text in question, which truly translated is this: 'have we not power to lead about a sister, a woman, as well as the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?' 5. And he goes on thus: 'who goeth to warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit? or, who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?' 6, &c

But must not the apostles have stood in need of more than was necessary for their own subsistence, if St. Paul spoke of the wives of his fellow apostles, who were in no condition to maintain their husbands, but rather to be maintained by them? So that their company would have been an additional charge to them instead of a help; especially if they lived together as husbands and wives, and an increase of children were continually coming upon them. It is therefore plain, the Protestant translators have used violence to the aforesaid text, and made St. Paul speak things he never thought of, to render him favourable to the first reformers, and encourage others to follow their *religious* example.

The 4th and fifth texts quoted by the Catechist have the same tendency, and are as follows: "a bishop may be blameless the husband of one wife, 1 Tim. iii. 2. "Having faithful children," *Tit.* i. 4. I doubt not but the Catechist thinks this a clear text against us; and so it will be if he can infer from it that a bishop must be a married man according to St. Paul's rule. But if that be his meaning, why did he not follow his own rule? for it is very certain St. Paul was a bishop, and it is no less certain he never was married. The true meaning therefore of his words is, that a man was not fit to be promoted to episcopacy, who had been married oftener than once, so that the force of St. Paul's rule is not the word *wife*, but in the word *one*.

But does it not follow at least, that St. Paul allowed bishops to marry once? I answer, it follows that a man who was or had been once married might be made a bishop; but it does not follow, that bishops were allowed to marry after their consecration. And the reason of St. Paul's rule in the choice of persons to be promoted to holy orders was, because in his time virginity was so rare, both among Jews and Gentiles, that if neither married men nor widowers had been chosen, the church would have been destitute of necessary pastors: yet even then he would not have those taken to the altar who had been married twice, and thereby appeared to have stronger ties to earth, than was suitable to so holy an employment.

His sixth text is, "marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled," *Heb.* xiii. 4. I answer marriage is honourable in all: but sacrilege and adultery are not at all honourable things. The pretended marriage of Theodore the monk appeared not at all honourable to St. Chrysostom, who told him it was worse than adultery. Nor was the marriage of widows, that began to wax wanton against

Christ, honourable in the judgment of St. Paul. And Luther's marriage with a nun was scandalous to the highest degree, even in the judgment of Melancthon ; who was much scandalized at it.

But do I then infer that the Protestant clergy live in continual adultery ? No : for I am fully persuaded that their marriage is valid, as that their ordination is null.

However I cannot have the same opinion of the marriage of the first reformers : for many of them had been validly ordained in the Catholic church, and by their orders were tied to her laws and discipline. Some of them had over and above made solemn vows of perpetual chastity ; and I presume vows made to God are not cobwebs to be broken through at pleasure. I am not however surprised that Protestants, though now free from such engagements, should still stand up for the marriage both of religious and priests, by reason of the signal service it did to their church in its infancy. For the reformation was clenched by it, and the means of its full establishment were thousands of sacrileges and broken vows.

Priests and nuns, whose example was like to have an influence on many of both sexes, were too considerable a part of the church to be neglected or overlooked in a general reform ; and liberty was not only the most proper bait to be set before them, but the best reason in the world to convince them that a reformation was necessary ; but least time and age, and the troublesome after-qualms of conscience should suggest dangerous thoughts of returning to their ancient mother church, the expedient to keep them staunch to the cause was to hamper them fast in the noose of wedlock. Here then the pulpits were employed to preach down the obligations of religious vows. Scriptural texts were taught to speak a language agreeable to the desires of flesh and blood, nunneries were set open, and priests allowed to exchange their breviaries for more diverting company. Nay, to their great comfort and edification, Martin Luther, with his religious bride Kate Boren, had already set the example ; and it was too charming not to be followed by many, who would have thought a mere change of religion a very dull and insipid thing to be damned for, if there had been nothing to be got by it in this world.

Thus fallen priests and nuns, became the nursing fathers and mothers of the reformed churches, and the new gospel was propagated like mankind after the fall of Adam, not by a spiritual but carnal generation. Not that all flocked in it to become votaries to Venus ; for great numbers abhorred the thing, and chose to be beggars abroad, and to fly for sanctuary to foreign monasteries rather than defile their souls, and dishonour their sacred character with practices unheard of before, though then varnished over with the plausible name of marriage. But let that be as it will, it is plain the reformation was built upon the ruins of broken vows ; and would have gone on but very slowly, if that untoward block of delicacy had not been removed out of its way.

Let us now consider the Catechist's concluding questions and answers, which cannot but give great edification.

The Catechist's concluding questions and answers briefly remarked upon.

The Catechist having now finished his confutation of Popery with such good success, that any ordinary capacity may be able (as he assures us in his title-page) to defend the Protestant religion against the most cunning jesuit or Popish priest, concludes his catechism with a few supernumerary questions and answers; the first whereof is as follows:

Q. Are there no more errors of the Papists?

A. Yes, many. But these are sufficient to make Protestants abhor their church and doctrine.

Here again the Catechist owns frankly, that there need no more to make Protestants abhor the church of Rome and her doctrine. And what then could he desire more? Is not this a plain declaration, that it was not his zeal for the Protestant cause, which stood no farther in need of his pen, but the superabundance of his hatred to our persons, that prompted him to add the scurrilous piece in the end; as likewise the following questions and answers, which have no manner of connection with the subject of his catechism.

Q. Do not Popish priests, jesuits, and others, that die for treasons and murders, die like Christians?

A. No. True Christians at their death will give glory to God.

Q. Do they not give glory to God?

A. No. If they did, they would confess their just deserts that bring them to that punishment.

Q. Why do they not confess their treasons, murders, &c. when they come to die for them?

A. Because their church forbids them to confess to Protestants, whom they call heretics.

Q. How does that appear?

A. Upon this principle, namely, that no man owes his enemy truth.

Q. Why so?

A. Because then he owes what may be a means for his preservation.

Q. What use do they make of this principle?

A. That Protestants being adversaries to the Church of Rome, her sons owe them nothing but ruin and destruction; and the vilest means they can use for that end are meritorious and glorious.

These are the concluding questions and answers of the author's Catechism; which serve likewise for an introduction to that unparalleled piece of unchristian slander, whereof I have spoken in the preface, and where the vile calumny contained in the last question and answer is likewise sufficiently confuted. I shall only add

one unquestionable proof of the falsehood of it. The unfortunate king Charles I. was certainly a zealous Protestant; yet the whole Roman Catholic nobility and gentry ventured their lives and fortunes in his service. And though the signal services they had done him were soon after forgot by his Protestant successor, they were always so eminent for their loyalty to him, that a facetious gentleman at court took one day the liberty to tell king Charles II. that the Papists were the best cattle he had; for though they had been sold thrice, he had them still upon his hands. Nay, soon after the king's restoration, it was to the pure zeal of the Catholic lords for his Majesty, that the Protestant bishops owed in a great measure, their being restored to the house of lords. For there was not a Catholic lord but gave his vote for them. And they had no other motive to induce them to it, than the prospect of strengthening the king's interest in that honourable assembly, by the addition of twenty-six sure friends to the crown: as they doubted not but they would always be. So notoriously false is it what the Catechist affirms: viz. That Protestants being enemies to the church of Rome, her sons owe them nothing but ruin and destruction. And as this is the whole foundation of his malicious answers to the other six questions, it is plain they are as false as the principle, on which they are grounded. It is false, (I say) that Roman Catholic criminals receive absolution upon condition that they deny or conceal the real crime for which they die. It is likewise false, that it is a principle of religion, that no man owes truth to his enemy. On the contrary, we are expressly taught, that faith, justice, truth and honesty, are duties we owe to all mankind.

Ay, but our church forbids us to confess to Protestants, whom we call heretics. What! would the Catechist have the Roman Catholics, that are executed, confess their sins to the ordinary of Newgate, to have them cried about London streets, as soon as the breath is out of their bodies! I frankly own, they make it a matter of conscience, not to die in the communion of Paul Lorain, and have so mean an opinion both of his absolution and secrecy, that they will never trust to either.

However, the Catechist will needs have it that jesuits, priests, and others among us, that are executed for treasons, murders, &c., die not like Christians; because (says he) they do not confess their just deserts, that bring them to that punishment. Well! I bless God, I never yet heard of any one priest or jesuit, executed for felony or murder in Great Britain, as the author's words plainly insinuate. And so that part of his charge is as trifling, as it is malicious. And as to those among the Catholic laity, who come to that misfortune, though they seldom care for making speeches at the place of execution, I never heard of any one that denied the fact, for which he was justly condemned. Nor is it lawful to do it upon any pretence whatsoever: Nay, I am sure there is not a priest in England or elsewhere, that would give absolution to a criminal

who should offer to deny with his dying breath, the felony or murder he had really committed.

But as to the crime of treason, the Catechist either means those jesuits and priests who have been executed by the sanguinary laws of queen Elizabeth, merely for performing their priestly functions (an account whereof may be seen in Stow) and this sort of treason they never were ashamed to own; or he means those jesuits, and laymen, who suffered in Oate's plot; and if these were the persons that died not like Christians, because they disowned the fact for which they suffered, then the primitive martyrs, who in the very first general persecution under Nero were put to death for burning the city of Rome, (as it was alledged against them) must also be accused of not dying like Christians, since they all unanimously disowned the fact. And the case is so exactly parallel, that the Catechist must be lost to all shame, as well as conscience, if, after the nation has been so solemnly disabused in reference to that sham plot, and the innocent sufferers in it so fully cleared, he persists to maintain that the Papists were any more guilty of conspiring against king Charles II. than the primitive Christians were of burning Rome. But if the Catechist speaks of executions of a later date, I shall only desire him to remember, that Papists were not the only sufferers in those occasions: for they died in very good Protestant company; and I never heard any one say, but they died as much like good Christians, as their Protestant fellow-sufferers.

THE

APPENDIX.

Wherein it is chiefly proved, that Popery is neither a traitorous nor bloody religion.

The Roman Catholic religion, as it differs from Protestancy, was in possession of whole Christendom for many ages before the pretended reformation; and at this very time is professed by the most learned and flourishing kingdoms of Europe. It was brought into England above eleven hundred years ago, where it flourished without any change for the space of nine hundred years together; and in that tract of time has been frequently watered with the blood of martyrs, adorned by innumerable persons eminent for holiness and learning, confirmed by innumerable decrees of councils, supported by the whole legislative power of the nation, and maintained by the authority of the very best, the wisest, and most glorious kings that England ever produced.

Now suppose a man should have the boldness to assert; that for so many ages together all the British kings and bishops, together with their councils, universities, and parliaments, were either madmen or Atheists, would not every man of sense and modesty cry out shame upon him? Yet our Catechist has ventured to do no less than this, when in the fury of his zeal against Popery he bestowed upon it the seven outrageous titles of a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind, and blasphemous religion; which in effect is charging all the forementioned honourable professors of it with downright folly or Atheism, since it is manifest, that if this infamous character be really due to the Roman Catholic religion, a man must be either a fool or Atheist to make open profession of it? Let the Catechist answer it if he can.

But why do I here trouble myself with repeating this scurrilous piece of slander, which doubtless must, in the judgment of all sober men, discredit the author himself much more than those it strikes at? My answer is, that the occasion of my repeating it here is the author's repeating it in the appendix of his catechism, where he pretends to prove the whole charge in seven distinct paragraphs, answerable to the seven titles he has bestowed upon us: two of which I intend to take here chiefly under examination, for the greatest part of the rest is already answered in the preceding tract.

The 6th and 7th paragraphs, under the two heads of Popery being a blind and blasphemous religion, are so exorbitantly scurrilous

ous and abusive, that they look more like the ravings of a person in a raging fit of madness, than an invective composed by a man in his senses. In the latter of the two, St. Gregory the Great is represented by him as a blasphemer. I thank him however, for allowing that great saint and doctor of the church to have been a Papist, and I am in no pain about his letter to the emperor Phocas. After that he charges several of our approved divines with teaching, that Jesus Christ was capable of vice and folly, and accuses our whole church of attributing all the prerogatives of the divine nature to the Blessed Virgin and the Pope; both which are detestable calumnies: then he proceeds to compare us with the Jews, Turks, Heathens, and those of Calicut who adore the devil; nay he gives their principles the preference to those of Papists; and concludes with this noble epiphonema, such is their blasphemy! I leave Protestants themselves to make what judgment they think fit of such an unchristian writer.

But in the sixth paragraph, upon the blindness of Popery, there is a piece of such an extraordinary size of slander, that I cannot but record it here to the everlasting honour of the author. 'Popery (says he) is a blind religion, which leaves the Papist, no sense nor notice of many sins; no conscience of the most: no fear of any; no not of the worst, such as themselves call deadly crimes; nay it gives as much security to such wickedness, as the heart that has sold itself to it can wish for;' p. 36, 37. Was there ever any thing so extravagant? Truly, there is but one thing can be alledged to excuse it, viz. that the author was not *compos mentis* when he wrote it.

What follows has something in it very childishly ridiculous, viz. 'that as a certain general first blinded his men, and then led them into the enemies' quarters, just so do our priests; and all the answer that can be had from the common sort amongst them is this, namely, they believe as the priest bids them, and if he deceives them the devil take him,' p. 37. I heartily exhort the Catechist to remember that the devil is the father of lies, and will certainly challenge those as his due, who shew themselves to be his true children by following such an infamous practice.

I come now to the two remaining articles of impeachment against Popery, viz. its being a traitorous, bloody religion; which is so foul a character in the eyes of all mankind, that I hope it will not be taken amiss, if I endeavour to wipe it off.

SECT. I.

Popery is not a Traitorous Religion.

First then I observe, that if Popery were a traitorous religion, it would have been morally impossible, that so many kings and nations should ever have embraced it; yet there is scarce a nation

in the known world but has embraced it some time or other, nay, and continued in the profession of it for many hundred years together. At this very time the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Poland, besides numberless other sovereign princes of a lower rank, are not only staunch Papists themselves, but extremely jealous of the least change of religion in their respective dominions. And are all these so careless of their own true interest, or so little concerned for the safety of their crowns and persons, that if they found by experience that Popery is a traitorous religion, destructive to loyalty even by its principles, and encouraging subjects to rebel against their princes, they would profess themselves the protectors of it? This surely cannot be probable. It is therefore manifest, that Roman Catholic princes, who cannot be ignorant of the principles of their own religion, are fully satisfied that Popery is not prejudicial to the prerogative of sovereigns; that canonical obedience to the Pope is not inconsistent with the strictest allegiance to kings; that it neither teaches treason nor rebellion against lawful powers; and that by consequence it is not a traitorous religion, as the Catechist is pleased to style it.

In effect, there is not a Catholic king in Europe, but is as faithfully obeyed by his subjects, as any Protestant king whatsoever. Nay, even those little princes in Italy, who border next upon the Pope's dominions, would make no difficulty to oppose him with open force, if he should invade their just rights; and they would be as well served by their subjects in such a cause, as any other.—Which is a convincing proof, that their subjection to the Pope in spirituals, and their acknowledging his headship or supremacy over them in a mere spiritual capacity; is no prejudice to their loyalty, nor a handle for a treason or rebellion against their lawful sovereigns.

But let us turn our thoughts a little homewards, where, in the space of a little more than one hundred and fifty years, since the beginning of the English reformation, we shall find more blood spilt in rebellions on the score of religion, by the hands of such as style themselves Protestants, than in the space of nine hundred years before it. I say, on the score of religion; for all the blood that was spilt in Scotland for the dethroning of queen Mary, and that large effusion of it in England during the civil wars, had no other pretence to colour it than that of religion: otherwise king Charles (whose motto was, *pro Religione et Patria*) would not be a Protestant martyr; and it is well known they were not Papists, but dissenting Protestant brethren (as they are usually stiled) that brought him to the block.

I shall only add this observation, that from the full establishment of Christianity, that is, Popery in England, until the Norman conquest, which contains about four hundred years, there were the fewest rebellions in it that ever were known. And yet the religion called Popery never flourished more in this island than during those

four centuries, in which it produced the most glorious race of kings that ever graced the British throne, it was chiefly to the religious generosity of those times, that England was indebted for the best part of her richest foundations, and those noble abbeys and other religious houses, which, until they fell a prey to the luxury and avarice of an arbitrary prince, were not only a sure refuge for all indigent travellers, but a constant relief for all the neighbouring poor about them. Nay, it is to those very times of zealous Popery, that Protestants are still indebted not only for many of their most stately cathedrals yet standing, but particularly for both their famous Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the one founded by Sigibert, the other by Alfred, two kings of the Saxon race.—And is it not very strange, that if Popery were a traitorous religion, a nation professing it should flourish most, and enjoy the greatest tranquillity in those very times, in which it was most zealously addicted to it? This surely will appear morally impossible to any thinking man; because treachery is the source of wars and confusion, and these bring misery and desolation into a country, where they prevail.

However the Catechist will say, perhaps, that though Papists may be loyal to princes of their own religion, they are bound by their principles to seek the destruction of Protestants: but this vile calumny is already answered in the preface, where I took notice that the Dutch, who are none of the least politic people in Europe, make no difficulty to admit Roman Catholics into their troops, and employ them against any Catholic prince, when the service of the common-wealth requires it. So well are they assured of their loyalty, and that the very principles of their religion oblige them to it. Nay, may we not confidently say, that unless the prince of Orange himself, whom all the world esteemed a wise and politic prince, had been fully convinced of this truth, he would never have made such an impolitic step, as to bring six thousand Papists over with him to fight against a Popish prince? What pity therefore is it, that our Catechist was not of his privy council, to let him know that Popery is a traitorous religion, and so dissuade him from trusting himself in the hands of so considerable a body of Papists, who would certainly betray him? For it is very certain, that not one either of his Dutch or English counsellors, (no not bishop Burnet himself, that scourge of Papists, nor the earl of Shrewsbury, who had been one himself) who came over with him, knew any thing of this important secret.

SECT. II.

Of the loyalty of the English Roman Catholics during the Civil Wars.

Well, but are there no domestic instances of Catholic loyalty to Protestant princes? yes, surely. For we need but look back upon

the transactions in this kingdom, when it was the theatre of a bloody civil war, and we shall find such memorable instances of it, that the Catechist must have a forehead doubly plated with brass to accuse us of having had a hand in the death of king Charles the first, as he does in his pretended proof of Popery being a traitorous religion, *p.* 35. Nay, he may as well accuse Papists of the murder of Julius Caesar; and the one will be believed as much as the other, by men of sense and common honesty.

But Protestant historians have themselves taken sufficient care, to transmit to posterity both the names and religion of the authors of that bloody tragedy. In effect, we need but have recourse to common sense to be convinced, that they who took up arms against the king, who seized his magazines and towns, who charged him in the field, and pursued him with fire and sword until they made him their prisoner, were alone the parricides that took away his life; and nothing can be more ridiculously injurious, than to impute any part of the guilt of it to those who were ruined in their fortunes, and lost their lives in defence of him.

I have a catalogue by me of above two hundred Catholics, some men of quality, most gentlemen of ancient families, who died on the bed of honour for his majesty, and sealed their loyalty with the last drop of their blood, viz. sixteen colonels, eighteen lieutenant colonels, sixteen majors, seventy-two captains, twenty-one lieutenants and cornets, forty-three volunteers, and seventeen more, whereof there were two lords, eleven knights, and four private gentlemen, whose posts in the army are not specified in the list, and if so many Catholic officers lost their lives, it cannot be doubted but the number of those that escaped was much greater, as likewise that of common soldiers in proportion. Whereas the challenge has been often made to Protestants to produce ten Papists, I may say two, who in all that confusion of civil wars ever drew their sword against the king?

I shall produce the testimony of some Protestant writers, who are above all exception: first, Dr. Stanhope, in his book entitled *the surest establishment of the royal throne*, *p.* 30. writes thus; 'it is a truth beyond all question, that there were a great many noble, brave, and loyal spirits of the Roman persuasion, who did, with the greatest integrity, and without any other design than satisfying conscience, adventure their lives in the war for the king's service.— And that several, if not all of those were men of such souls, that the greatest temptation in the world could not have perverted, or made them desert the king in his greatest miseries.' How different is this from the character the Cateshist has given of us!

2dly, A Protestant bishop (for he was the reputed author of the book) in his *state of Christianity in England*, *p.* 24. writes thus of us; 'the English Papist (says he) for his courage and loyalty in the last war deserves to be recorded in the annals of fame and history. And perhaps this may not be unworthy of notice, that

soever the usurper, or any of his instruments of blood or sycophancy resolved to take away the life or estate of a Papist, it was his loyalty, not religion, that exposed him to their rapine and butchery.'

This agrees exactly with what is written in the history of the *Pyrenean* treaty printed in Holland, p. 4. viz. that the duke of Crequi, at the request of the queen-mother of France, interceding for a mitigation of the persecution against Papists, Cromwel made answer, 'that they were his greatest enemies.'

3dly, The author of the *present state of England*, printed Ann. 1692, writes thus: 'there are some few families in several parts of England have persisted in the Romish religion, and are usually called Papists. Against these there are divers severe laws; but their number being not considerable, nor their loyalty for many years last past questionable, these laws have been more rarely put in execution.'

These Protestant testimonies are authentic proofs of the loyal behaviour of Roman Catholics during the civil wars. I shall only add one remark, that in those turbulent times, when loyalty was put to the hardest trials, and even some bright stars of the church of England fell, though their main body stood firm to the crown; in those times, I say, the loyalty of Roman Catholics was so conspicuous, and so well known, that Papist and cavalier were become synonymous terms. Because there was not a Papist but was esteemed a cavalier, nor a cavalier but was nicknamed a Papist.'

SECT. III.

King Charles II. preserved by Roman Catholics after the defeat of his army at Worcester.

Nor did their loyalty end with the life of king Charles I. but continued the same to his Protestant successor, who after the fatal defeat at Worcester, owed his preservation, next to God, to the inviolable fidelity of the Roman Catholics, whom neither the promises of a considerable reward could corrupt, nor the treats of certain deaths deter, from their duty.

My Lord Clarendon, part 3, book 13, p. 321, is pleased to say, 'it is a great pity that there was never 'a journal made of that miraculous deliverance.' But what hindered his lordship from making such a journal, since in the very same page he tells us in the margin, that 'he had all the particulars of the king's 'escape from his mouth?' I can guess at no other reason for it, than that his lordship was afraid to foul his paper with the names of too many Papists concerned in it. Since therefore this noble peer was pleased to content himself with barely lamenting the want of such a journal, I hope it will not be unacceptable either to the Protestant or Catholic reader, if I present the public with a short abstract of one

printed many years ago, and subscribed by two of those worthy patriots, who were themselves principal actors in the glorious undertaking of the king's deliverance. However the journal I promise is only of the six first days after the loss of the battle, when there was the strictest search made after his majesty's person, and the reward of a thousand pounds was promised to the discoverer, and the penalty, as in cases of high treason, denounced against any one that should conceal him; for it was in those six days of the king's greatest distress, that he was entirely in the hands, and under the protection of Roman Catholics, as will appear from the following account.

"Wednesday the 3d of September, Ann. 1651, was the fatal day, on which the king's army was defeated at Worcester, and himself forced to fly attended on by several lords and gentlemen, amongst whom was my lord Wilmot, and colonel Giffard. The darkness of the night favoured their flight; and colonel Giffard (who was a Catholic gentleman of Staffordshire, and well acquainted both with the roads and Catholic families of that country) served as guide, and conducted the king to White-ladies, where he arrived on

"Thursday morning. Here his Majesty changed his clothes, cut his hair, coloured his face brown with walnut-leaves, put on a patched coat, a course shirt, a pair of clouted shoes, and every thing else suited to the dress of a poor country peasant. Being thus disguised, he dismissed all his retinue, and committed his person to the fidelity of the Pendrels. These were three brothers; William, who was tenant in a neighbouring house of the Fitzherbert's, called Boscobel; the other two, called Richard and John, were poor labouring men at or about White-ladies. The king spent the rest of this day in a neighbouring wood, accompanied only by Richard Pendrel, for his brother John was gone to conduct my lord Wilmot, as shall be seen more at large immediately. When it grew dark, his majesty attended only by the same Richard, set forward towards Madely, a little town or village in Shropshire, situated near the Severn, with an intention to pass that river into Wales. But coming near the place, one Mr. Wolf, a Catholic of Madely, informed his majesty, that all the fords and passages were so strongly guarded, that he could not avoid been taken if he proceeded; and it being dangerous either to enter into the town, or return by day-light, the king took up his lodging in one of Mr. Wolf's barns, where he continued all

"Friday; and towards the evening returned back into Staffordshire, with Richard his faithful guide, who brought him to his brother William at Boscobel; which place they reached towards the morning of

"Saturday, And here it was that, to prevent the danger of the king's being discovered by those who might come to search the house, he was concealed in Boscobel-wood, in the tree since called the royal oak, together with Colonel Carlos, a Catholic officer in

the king's army, who after the loss of the battle, had fled thither for shelter. Under which concealment his majesty was forced to continue the greatest part of Saturday, and

"Sunday, until about midnight he was conducted by the Pendrels on a miller's horse, to Mosely, the house of one Mr, Whitgrave, a Catholic gentleman, of a good estate, where he was very well accommodated with lodging and diet, and served with great respect by the master and mistress of the house, and Mr. Hudleston the priest of the family. And in this sanctuary he continued all

"Monday and Tuesday, until about midnight, when his majesty took leave of his faithful host, and was brought by my lord Wilmot to Bentley, the house of Colonel Lane, and distant three miles from Mosely."

This is the journal I promised as a supplement to that part of my lord Clarendon's history, where he so much laments the want of it, and wherein his lordship's memory was pleased to fail him.¹ But as I was unwilling to interrupt the series of my journals, or perplex it with a mixture of accidents not so immediately relating to his majesty, I have yet said nothing of the adventures that befel my lord Wilmot, with his faithful guide John Pendrel, and by what lucky accident his lordship came to rejoin the king; of which I shall now give a brief account for the clearer understanding of the journal I have made,

"On Thursday morning, the day after the battle, as soon as the king had dismissed his retinue from White-ladies, my lord Wilmot, who was one of the number, took John Pendrel to guide him into the common road between York and London, intending to make his escape that way. But finding the ways blocked up on all sides, his lordship took refuge in the house of one Mr. Huntbatch of Brindford, near Mosely, and about four miles from White-ladies: from whence he sent his guide John to Wolverhampton, to see how matters stood there. But John finding no security in those quarters, as he was going back to my lord Wilmot, by the singular conduct of Divine Providence, met the abovesaid Mr. Hudleston, whose person and character he was very well acquainted with, and therefore made no difficulty to let him into the whole secret: viz. that he left the king on Thursday at White-ladies, with his brother Richard, and that himself had the same day, but in vain, endeavoured to forward the escape of a man of quality, who lay then concealed at Brindford, near Mosely, and would certainly fall into the hands of the rebels, unless he could prevail with Mr. Whitgrave to receive him into his house at Mosely. Whereupon Mr. Hudleston immediately took John home with him, and there proposed the thing to Mr. Whitgrave, who without hesitation, undertook the concealment and protection of his lordship; made him a visit at Brindford, and about ten of the clock at night brought him to his own house. But because the stables were too near the common street, he sent my lord's horses to Colonel Lane at Bentley, a near neighbour of his

whose honesty he told my lord Wilmot he could safely depend upon.

"The next day, being Friday, John Pendrel was sent back by his lordship to White-ladies, to know what was become of the king. But all the intelligence he could get was, that his majesty was gone towards the Severn with his brother Richard, with intention to pass into Wales. Upon this information my lord Wilmot resolved to follow the king thither, sent back for his horses from Bently, and went thither the next night, designing to take the advantage of a pass which (as his lordship had been informed) Mrs. Lane had casually procured for herself and a servant, for a journey to Bristol: and John Pendrel went back to White-ladies.

"The next day was Saturday, and Mr. Whitgrave heard nothing of the king all that day. But on Sunday early in the morning, as he was entertaining himself with Mr. Hudleston, full of anxiety for the king's safety, John Pendrel came running to him in great haste, and told him that his majesty, having been disappointed of his designed passage over the Severn, was come back with his brother Richard, and was then at Boscobel in great perplexity what course to take for his farther security. Whereupon Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, being deeply concerned for the king's imminent danger, took John with them and went immediately to Bently; where, being admitted to my lord Wilmot, they acquainted him how matters stood; and it was resolved, upon mature deliberation, that my lord should come back about eleven at night to Mosely in order to meet the king there: that John should return to Boscobel, and from thence conduct his majesty about the same time of the night to a certain station near Mr. Whitgrave's house, where Mr. Hudleston was to attend and receive him. All which was performed accordingly; only the king came about two hours later than my lord Wilmot. And here it was his majesty was sheltered from Sunday to Tuesday night, as I said before. But on Monday night my lord Wilmot parted from Mosely, and went back to Bently, to prepare all things for the king's reception there, and take due measures with colonel Lane for his secure passage into France.

"During his majesty's stay at Mosely he was lodged in Mr. Hudleston's chamber, by reason of the convenience of a direct passage, which that chamber had into a private hole; where the priest of the family was often forced to lurk; and his majesty was once forced to take shelter in it upon a sudden alarm, that a party of the rebels were coming towards the house, their approach was timely discovered; and the king being conveyed into this private place, Mr. Whitgrave had the presence of mind to go down and meet the soldiers at the gate in order to prevent a farther search. They seized violently upon him, and would have hurried him to a prison as a person engaged for the king at Worcester; but he assured them he had been a long time sick and infirm at home, and called in neighbours to attest the same. Whereupon they became more

tractable and let him go. And so his majesty was released from his confinement, and the night after conducted to Bently."

This is an exact summary of Mr. Hudleston's printed relation; the veracity whereof cannot in the least be questioned, since it contains nothing but facts he either was an eye-witness of, or had from the Pendrels themselves; one of whom never quitted the king from Thursday morning until Sunday night, when Mr. Hudleston conducted him into Mr. Whitgrave's house his printed relation is subscribed.

THOMAS WHITGRAVE.

JOHN HUDLESTON.

I need not acquaint the reader how well the king was entertained by colonel Lane at Bently; or how serviceable that loyal Protestant family was in completing the glorious work of his majesty's deliverance, so happily begun by Roman Catholics. For all the particulars of this latter part of it, both as to persons, time, and place, are so fully and distinctly set down by my lord Clarendon, that nothing can be added to the exactness of this relation. Nay his lordship appears on a sudden like a man broke loose from very disagreeable company, and every stroke of his eloquent pen discovers the inward satisfaction of his mind, in particularizing the adventures that befel his majesty from the moment he was put into the hands of his good Protestant subjects; whereas his lordship's account of the six memorable days I have spoken of, is so very lame and defective, so intricate and obscure, nay, even so wide from the real truth, that it is plain his lordship was handling a subject, in which he could find no manner of relish; and which would have redounded too much to the credit of his majesty's Catholic subjects, had he set it in a clear and true light. I shall make bold to produce some few remarkable instances of what I say.

First, his lordship stifles the names of all the Catholic houses in which the king was sheltered; so that neither White-ladies, nor Boscobel, nor even Mosely, is so much as once mentioned in his book.

2dly, Neither colonel Giffard, who conducted the king to White-ladies; nor even Mr. Wolf, who hid him in his barn; nor Mr. Whitgrave who lodged him in his own house from Sunday until Tuesday night; nor finally, any one of the three honest Pendrels, who were so signally instrumental both to his majesty's and my lord Wilmot's preservation, is ever once named by his lordship. And let any one judge what sort of a narrative of the king's escape that must be, in which not one of the fore-mentioned names, either of places or persons, is to be found.

3dly, His lordship tells us, *p.* 319, that on the morning after the battle, his majesty, after having discharged his servants, betook himself alone into an adjacent wood; whereas nothing is more certain, than that Richard Pendrel accompanied the king all that day in the wood, and at night guided him every step of the way to

Malely on the Severn, and the next night back again to Boscobel ; though his lordship, *p.* 322, is pleased to allot this piece of service to captain Careless, alias, colonel Carlos ; to avoid, as I suppose, the sullying his noble history with the ignoble name of Richard Pendrel.

4thly, his lordship, by I know not what strange mistake or forgetfulness, declares positively, *p.* 324, that the king never was carried to any gentleman's house ; and he leaves his readers to guess, whether the Papists used this caution for the king's safety, or their own. But I dare confidently say his lordship has injured the credit of his own history much more, than the reputation of those loyal patriots, by so palpable a representation of the matter. What ! was Mr. Whitgrave no gentleman ? Was not Mosely a gentleman's house ? And was not his majesty sheltered there from Sunday to Tuesday night ? Was it not there that the courageous Mr. Whitgrave exposed himself to the fury of the soldiers, whilst his majesty was secured in the lurking hole, formerly the sanctuary only of priests ? And how then could his lordship be capable of such an oversight as to affirm, that the king never was carried to any gentleman's house ? Nay had it not been for the worthy gentleman of this house, where both the lord wilmot and his majesty were harboured, it is probable they had never been brought acquainted with colonel Lane, who was afterwards so great an instrument of the escape both of the one and the other.

I omit several other particulars, wherein the narrative his lordship has dressed up differs as much from Mr. Hudlestons plain relation, as a romance differs from true history. And all this his lordship seemed to be driven to for no other reason, than to avoid the ungrateful task of mentioning either Mosely or Mr. Whitgrave, or any of the Pendrels, whose names deserve to be transmitted to posterity in letters of gold. And here I heartily wish our adversaries would reflect seriously with themselves, how much it is to be suspected, that Roman Catholics have seldom or never entire justice done them by common Protestant writers, since so great a man as my lord Clarendon suffered himself to be carried away by the violence of prejudice, to a partiality never to be excused. However, if these papers should ever happen to fall into the hands of any Protestant, I hope at least he will be fully convinced, that Roman Catholics deserve not the foul character which the Catechist has given of them ; and that they, who gave such signal proofs of their inviolable fidelity to two Protestant princes successively, even in the time of their greatest distress, were not taught by the principles of their religion, to seek the destruction of Protestants by any means possible, or to practise treason and rebellion against their lawful sovereigns, as this vile writer has had the malice to affirm.— But let us now consider the facts he has picked up, to give some colour to this unchristian calumny.

SECT. IV.

The facts produced by the Catechist to prove Popery a traitorous religion are wholly impertinent.

The facts he has produced are five in number ; two foreign, and three domestic. The two foreign ones are the murder of Henry IV. of France by Ravaillac, and the poisoning of an emperor with a consecrated host ; upon which the Catechist makes this smart and witty remark (for he can be basely witty when he pleases) that 'he never yet met with a religion before that could poison their God to kill their emperor.' But it is absolutely false that the emperor (Henry VII. whom the Catechist means) was poisoned with a consecrated host, as Natalis Alexander has fully proved, T. 7. *Hist. Eccles.* p. 272. & seq. and if it were true, could not justify the Catechist's charge : for when any particular practice is ascribed to such or such a religion, the meaning of it is not, that there are some persons of that religion that do so or so ; but the true meaning is, that they are taught to do it by the principles of their religion. Now if the Catechist can prove, that either Ravaillac, when he stabbed the king, or the sacriligious priest, whom he supposes to have poisoned the emperor with a consecrated host, acted according to the rules and principles of their religion, then he will have reason to cry out—he never met with such a religion before ? But if he cannot prove any thing like this, as he knows very well he cannot, nothing can be more impertinent than to produce those facts for proofs, that Popery is a traitorous religion. For I only desire him to answer me this short question, whether every religion be traitorous, that has had traitors of its communion ? if so, woe be to a certain church I know.

But let us put a familiar instance. Great numbers of Protestants, both men and women, are yearly condemned in London for thieving, house-breaking, murder, &c. Suppose now some wise-acre upon a day of execution, should ask what religion those men and women were of that were going to suffer ; and, being told they were all true Protestants, should with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven cry out, he never met with a religion before that taught thieving, murder, &c. would he not deserve to be rewarded with a fool's cap ? I leave the Catechist to make the application of the parable, as his own judgment shall direct him. However, the moral of it is instruction, and will inform him, that there may be and will be wicked men in all religions whatsoever ; and that the crimes they fall into are not to be ascribed to their religion, unless its very principles encourage their wickedness.

Thus much for the Catechist's two foreign instances to prove Popery a traitorous religion. His three domestic ones are set down thus : their attempts on queen Elizabeth by Pistol and dag-

ger; on king James by the powder treason; on king Charles the first, &c. Here he accuses us of having had a hand in the murder of king Charles, as I mentioned before. But I hope I have said enough concerning that matter to make him blush, if he be capable of it.

As to the first fact he speaks of, viz. the attempts of Papists on queen Elizabeth. I presume he chiefly means Babington's conspiracy, of which Camben himself gives such a confused relation, dressed up with circumstances so very improbable in themselves, and interwoven with so much court juggle, that Sanderson, a Protestant historian, in the life of Mary queen of Scots, has the following remarkable words relating to that business: which 'design (says he) is so pieced and patched together by those that write of it, as if each man's fancy in reference to the public must needs take effect of rebellious interpretation, p. 113, 114. And in the very next page he tells us, that the queen of Scots being then committed to the close custody of Sir Amias Pawlet, his baker (Camben calls him his brewer) was bribed by secretary Walsingham to counterfeit a fidelity to her, and offer his service by means of a private hole in the wall, to convey letters to and fro between her and the conspirators; 'which letters (says Sanderson) were sure to be opened and read by Walsingham, who got the keys of the cyphers, and had answers counterfeited to involve w^ho he pleased to suspect in the plot.' And who does not see that any plot may be hatched, ripened, and modelled into what shape you please, by such vile artifices?

I shall add this one reflection more, viz. that if it were literally true, as the Catechist says, that the Papists formed several attempts upon queen Elizabeth by pistol and dagger, it is morally impossible, that in a reign of forty-three years, not one of them should take effect, at least so far as to be only prevented in the very execution. For since any man is master of another man's life, if he does not value his own, there's nothing can hinder a man, seriously bent upon such a villainy, and fully resolved to hazard his own life, from finding an opportunity to attempt it, at least some time or other, as is manifest from innumerable examples both at home and abroad. And since no one design of this nature was ever brought to the ripeness even of an ineffectual attempt, in so long a reign as that of queen Elizabeth, I may modestly say, the many pretended designs upon her life, with pistol and dagger, savour more of romance than reality. And indeed the plain truth of the matter is, that the principal design of Babington's conspiracy was to set the queen of Scots at liberty, and rescue her out of the jaws of death. But there was a necessity in those days of keeping the people's ears continually warm with dismal cries of Popish plots, both to prepare them for the barbarous murder of a Popish queen, though an absolute and independent sovereign, and to palliate the severe treatment of Roman Catholics in those times.

But take it now for granted, that Babington was guilty of the execrable design laid to his charge, what does the Catechist infer from it? He infers, that therefore Popery is a traitorous religion.

But since he does not reflect how far this consequence will go, I shall lend him some assistance to do it, by shewing him, that Papists are not the only persons in the world capable of such a wicked design. For though it be both base and unmannerly to rip up old stories by way of reproach, it is wholly blameless by way of self-defence. Let us see whether Protestants be so guiltless, that they may lawfully throw the first stone.

Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, was doubtless a zealous Protestant, yet Cambden tells us in the life of queen Elizabeth, *p.* 345, 346, that in a council held about the queen of Scots, he gave his advice, that she should be taken away by poison, and sent a divine privately to Walsingham to satisfy him that it was lawful. Now I think Protestant poison is full as bad as a Popish pistol or dagger. But she was reserved for the block, like her royal grandson Charles the first.

Not many years after John Ruthven, earl of Gowry, invited her son king James VI., afterwards king of England, to his house, where he had armed men ready to assassinate him: and had not Andrew Henderson, one of the assassins, relented, and opened a window to cry out for help, whilst the king was struggling with Alexander the earl's brother, he had been dispatched in a moment. Alexander was killed upon the place by John Ramsey, and the earl himself by Doctor Herres, two of those who came up to the king's rescue. The history of this assassination-plot, and his majesty's truly fortunate deliverance, is recorded by Cambden in the life of queen Elizabeth, *p.* 596, but more at large by Sanderson, *p.* 227, 228, 229. Yet all the conspirators and actors in it were Protestants. A holy-day was kept yearly in remembrance of it, as long as king James remained in Scotland; but after his accession to the crown of England, it was buried in oblivion.

In the reign of king Charles II., came on the Rye-house plot, to assassinate both the king and his royal brother, on their return from Newmarket; but it was prevented by an accidental fire, which obliged the king and the duke to leave Newmarket sooner than was expected, and by consequence before things were in a readiness for the execution of that horrid conspiracy, as it is justly called by the late bishop of Rochester, who has written the history of it; and the reader may be sure no Papists were concerned in it, since no day of humiliation is kept to eternize the memory of it.

But why do I revive the memory of these odious facts? Truly, nothing could have induced me to do it, but the necessity I am under of exposing the malice and weakness of one, who, from the treasonable practices of some particular Roman Catholics will needs infer, that therefore Popery is a traitorous religion. For I

should be glad to know how he would relish this consequence, if I should infer it against the Protestant religion, from the facts I have now mentioned, and more I have omitted? or what answer he would give to it? And whether the same answer will not acquit Popery as well as Protestancy? I am therefore of opinion, it will be the Catechist's best course to come to a fair composition, and own candidly with me, that there may be ill men in all religions whatsoever: and that their personal misdemeanours cannot be legally charged upon the whole body or society, whereof they are unworthy members; and this answer is enough to satisfy any rational man. Nay, either this answer must likewise suffice to keep off the scandal of the Gunpowder-plot; from touching Roman Catholics in general, or I do not see how Protestants can vindicate their own whole body from the infamy, either of the villainies I have already mentioned, or of any other crime committed by particular persons of their own communion:

SECT. V.

Of the Gunpowder Plot.

However, I shall touch briefly upon a few particulars relating to this plot, for the happy discovery whereof an anniversary holy-day has now been kept above one hundred and eighty years. It is out of pure gratitude to God, the nation is so particularly devout on this occasion? If so, it is highly commendable. For we ought to thank God for all things; and therefore I cannot deny, but there is all the reason in the world to give him solemn thanks, that the king and parliament never were in any danger of being hurt by the powder-plot.

What! dare I have the confidence to deny that plot? Or say that the king and parliament were in no danger of being hurt by it? My answer is, that I am far from denying the gunpowder-plot; nay, I believe as firmly that Catesby, with twelve more Popish associates, had a design to blow up king James, as I believe (what Sanderson and other Protestant historians have left upon record,) that the father of that same king, was effectually blown up by the earls of Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and others of the reformed church of Scotland, concerned in that conspiracy. However, though I firmly believe the design of the gunpowder-plot, I humbly conceive I may say, the king and parliament were in no danger of being hurt by it; and my reason is, because they had no less a man than the prime minister of state for their tutelar angel, a person deeply read in politics, who had inherited the double spirit of his predecessor Walsingham, knew all his tricks of legerdemain (of which I have already spoken) and could as seasonably discover plots as contrive them. This made Osburn, a Protestant writer, confess plainly, *p.* 34. 'that it was a neat device of the secretary.'

And king James himself, after the first heat of the business was over, and that his majesty had dived thoroughly into the bottom of it, was wont to call the 5th of November Cecil's holy-day, as the lord Cobham and others have professed to have heard from his own mouth.

Thus much at least is certain, viz. that the letter written to my lord Monteagle, by which the plot was discovered, had not a fool, but some very cunning sophister, for its author; for it was so craftily worded, that though it was mysterious enough on the one hand to prevent a full evidence, that it was written on purpose to discover the plot, yet it was clear enough on the other, to be understood with the help of a little consideration, as the event soon shewed. Indeed when it was brought to secretary Cecil, he, poor gentleman, had not penetration enough to understand the meaning of it, and said it was certainly written by a madman. But there I fear he wronged himself; for the secretary was no madman. On the contrary, he had too much wit to explain it himself; and was too refined a politician to let slip so favourable an occasion, of making his court to the king, who was to have the compliment made him, of being the only Solomon, wise enough to unfold this dark mystery; which, whilst his majesty was doing with a great deal of ease, the secretary was all the while at his elbow, admiring and applauding his wonderful sagacity.

But there is a very remarkable circumstance in the timing of this letter, viz. that it was sent to my lord Monteagle, ten whole days before the parliament was to sit. Now what necessity was there for this great haste, if the letter was designed for nothing else but to warn his lordship to forbear coming to the parliament the first day of its meeting? For it would have come time enough upon such an errand, had it been delivered to him either the night before, or on the very morning of the session. This doubtless would have been much more safe, and answered all intents and purposes, if the saving of my lord Monteagle's life had been the only thing designed. It is therefore manifest, that the author of the letter, whoever he was, had other things in view, which succeeded accordingly, as he could not but foresee without the help of art-magic. For my lord Monteagle who knew nothing of the plot, finding a treasonable letter brought to him by and from an unknown hand, suspected immediately (as it was but rational to do) that it was a design upon him to draw him into a snare; he therefore carried it forthwith to the secretary's office, (as any prudent man would do for his own security on such an occasion) and then followed the pleasant court-farce, I have already spoken of. So that, in all probability, the same man was the chief underhand contriver and discoverer of the plot; and the greatest part of the bubbles concerned in it were trepanned into it by one, who took sure care that none but themselves should be hurt by it. All which is plainly hinted at by Sanderson, who writes thus, *p.* 334. 'The jesuit's

had a note of Cecil's name in their register, not as a day labourer that carried a few stones or sticks, but as the master workman, whose foreign and domestic engineers wrought in the mine of discovery.' And Mr. More in his history of the *English Province*, p. 310. says, 'there was no light suspicion of a peer's knowing the conspiracy long before its discovery, who cunningly pretended ignorance, that more might be involved.'

But let that be as it will, there is no doubt but that they who suffer themselves to be drawn into a plot like fools deserve to be hanged for it like knaves. And so the principal thing I intend briefly to shew is, that the gunpowder plot with which we are continually reproached, to incense the people against us, cannot with any justice be properly called a Popish plot. My reason is, because that expression implies at least a general plot of the Catholics in England. As when we speak of a Popish principle, the obvious meaning of it is, that it is a principle generally maintained by Papists. Now a plot is looked upon to be general, when a great many of the heads of a party and a considerable number of all ranks comparatively to the whole body, are concerned in it, which never could be said of the gunpowder plot; for we may modestly compute, that a fifth part of England were Roman Catholics in the beginning of king Jame's reign, and the Catholic nobility were likewise very numerous; in so much that the first marquis, the first earl, the first viscount, and the first baron, viz. Winchester, Arundel, Montague, and Abergaveny, were all members of the church of Rome, and the king's son was then the only duke in England.—Yet there was not one single Catholic nobleman engaged in it; and the whole number of those that were, amounted but to thirteen persons, whom also king James, in his proclamation of Nov. 7, stiles men for the most part of desperate estates. Their names are set down by Sanderson in two colums, p. 328: viz. eight in the first who worked in the mine, where the barrels of powder were to be placed; and five in the second, who were afterwards engaged to them, as Sanderson tells us.

It is true, three jesuits besides were accused of having been privy to it, viz. Garnet, Tesmond, and Gerard; but the two former declared it was under the inviolable seal of confession they came to the knowledge of it, and did their utmost to dissuade their penitents from it, and even made them promise they would. The other, having made his escape beyond seas, put forth a public writing, in which he called God to witness he knew nothing of the plot, no not so much as in confession.

Here then let us consider, whether this may justly deserve the appellation of a Popish plot? That is, whether it be just to charge Catholics in general with the infamy of it, and declaim bitterly against them and their religion on that score? The case fairly stated was thus: thirteen profligate Papists (that is, scarce one of a hundred thousand) were drawn into a plot; some of them being ap-

prehended, not only confessed the fact, but discovered all their accomplices ; and to shew how far they were from concealing any one person the least concerned in it, they even accused their confessors. Besides all this, there was the most diligent search possible made over the whole kingdom (as all historians witness) for information against any suspected persons, yet not one Catholic nobleman was found to have been either aiding or even privy to it, nor any more accomplices in it among the Catholic commonality, than the above mentioned thirteen. And let any one now judge, whether there be any more justice in calling this a Popish plot, than there would be in calling robbery a Protestant trade or practice, in case a knot of thirteen Protestant robbers should be taken in the fact, and brought to justice ?

Nay, king James himself was so far from suspecting the generality of his Catholic subjects to be concerned in it, that he expressed the contrary both in parliament and in a public proclamation.— And no Protestant prince on the English throne ever was so favourable to them as king James I. was in the latter half of his reign ; and so much, that (as Wilson, a Protestant historian, tells us) Henry earl of Northampton, an eminent Papist, was received into his council ; and sir Giles Calvert, an hispaniolized Papist, (as the same Wilson calls him) was made secretary of state ; and the favour he shewed them on all occasions became so remarkable, that nothing was more frequent in parliament, than complaints of his princely kindness and indulgence towards them, as all writers of those times record. Which I think is a convincing proof, that he never regarded them as enemies, nor their religion as traitorous in its principles to Protestant princes.

But to conclude, how black soever the gunpowder treason was in itself, the crime of a few against king James I. has been abundantly atoned for by the exemplary fidelity of the whole body of Roman Catholics, both to his son and grandson ; and nothing can be more unjust than to reproach their posterity, to the fifth and sixth generation, with a fact, of which neither their religion nor their body was guilty ; whilst all the proofs of their fidelity in the two following reigns, much more general and of a fresher date, are buried in oblivion.

SECT. VI.

Of the Deposing Power.

But the Catechist's chief argument to prove Popery a traitorous religion, is grounded on the deposing doctrine ; and, what surprises me most, there is scarce a Protestant writer but takes occasion to enlarge upon this argument with the same seriousness, as if there were any real weight in it. I shall, however, be very brief in my answer to it, having been too long already. First, then, I say, it

runs wholly upon a false supposition. For no Catholic in the world is bound to believe, that the Pope has a power, directly or indirectly, to depose princes; and for one that believes it, there are a thousand that believe nothing of it. Nay if any one should presume to maintain it in any Catholic country on this side of the Alps, he would pass his time but very uncomfortably. Yet our adversaries will needs have it to be an article of our faith.

But suppose it were, as it is far from being one, I answer 2dly, that the argument built upon it is altogether frivolous in relation to England, where there is a Protestant prince on the throne and where there are now a thousand Protestants to one Papist. For I should be glad to know, how the belief of the Pope's deposing power can affect the English nation as it now stands? Will his Holiness command a handful of Papists to dethrone a king defended by millions? Or will a Protestant people depose a Protestant king to gratify the Pope? I am not yet inclined to think they will.—And where then is the danger of this doctrine in relation to England? I confess, if the Papal bulls could cross the seas, attended with an army of three hundred thousand effective men, there might be reason to fear the Pope's deposing power. But as things are, a prince on the British throne is out of the reach of any deposing power but that of his own Protestant people, as experience has taught us oftener than once. In a word, the people have many times deposed their king without the Pope, and such as are inclined to depose their king are inveterate enemies to the Pope. And in a nation, where the bulk of the people are Protestants, who both hate and despise him, nothing could be more ridiculous than the noise made about a speculative point of doctrine, and that even not believed by one in ten thousand, as if it were most highly dangerous to the state; whereas, whether it be true or false, it is of no more consequence in a Protestant country, than the most trivial question in logic. And as Europe now stands, it is ridiculous to hold any dispute about it, but merely to shew the falsity of the imputation.

But is it not somewhat pleasant to hear Protestants upbraid us continually with the mere speculation of a few Catholic divines concerning the deposing power of the Pope, whilst the practice of deposing princes has run violently on the Protestant side ever since the reformation? Nay, it is plain matter of fact, that within these last two hundred years, Protestants have practised the deposing power more than all the Popes together have done, from the beginning of Christianity down to this very time.

To make this evident, let us not but take a cursory view of the general history of the reformation, and we shall find, that reforming and deposing came hand in hand together into the world, For Luther no sooner began to preach his new gospel, but the people rose up in arms in several parts of the empire, being chiefly headed

by one Muntzer, who had formerly been Luther's scholar, and said, 'he had received the sword of Gideon, in order to compel the whole world to acknowledge the new kingdom of Jesus Christ, and depose idolatrous magistrates.' In effect, they openly pretended nothing less than to depose not only the three ecclesiastical electors, and other ecclesiastical sovereign princes, but all sovereigns whatsoever where their arms should prevail.

This furious storm (wherein above an hundred thousand perished) being the signal to rebellion to all other parts of the empire, where Protestancy had good footing, was immediately followed by the famous league of Smalkald; the confederates whereof (all staunch Protestants) would certainly have deposed the emperor Charles, had he not proved too hardy for them. For in their public declaration they styled him no other than Charles of Gaunt, usurping the name of emperor, whereby they renounced all obedience to him, and deposed him as far as in them lay. The deposition of Sigismund in Swedeland was more effectual, and Q. Christina had the grace to depose herself, to spare her subjects the pains and cost to do it for her.

Calvin, the second great leader of the reformation, though differing from Luther in many doctrinal points, even surpassed him in his atimonarchical zeal: and to give the world an early instance of it, he had no sooner got footing in Geneva, but the sovereign prince of that place was expelled and deposed. Nay, wherever his doctrine prevailed, the same was effected or at least attempted. King Philip the second was deposed in the Netherlands, queen Mary in Scotland, and the Protestants in France pushed fairly to depose both Charles the IX, and Henry III. The church of England has likewise on occasions exerted her deposing power. For Edward VI. was no sooner dead, but the heads of the Protestant party began to shew they were no enemies to deposing; for they proclaimed the Protestant lady Jane Gray in opposition to queen Mary, their undoubtedly lawful sovereign. And though her reign was very short, the chronicles relate several attempts made by her Protestant subjects to depose her; the chief whereof was that of sir Thomas Wyatt, who marched over Shootershill, at the head of a Protestant army, in order to make himself master of the city and tower of London, and so dispose of the crown at pleasure, but being unsuccessful was treated as a rebel.

Then followed the reign of a lady, who never was against the doctrine or practice of deposing any sovereign but herself; for she assisted the French Protestants with men and money against Charles IX. She helped the Dutch to throw off king Philip; and when the Scots had dethroned queen Mary, to prevent all possibility of her ever recovering her right, she kept her under close confinement for seventeen years, and then cut off her head. I shall throw a veil upon what has happened since to the unfortunate race

of that injured princess, I mean the Stuarts, But whoever reflects upon it, must be void of sense to reproach us with the deposing doctrine.

SECT. VII.

Popery is not a Bloody Religion.

If more blood were commonly spilt in Popish than Protestant countries : or if the former were more fertile in rebellions and conspiracies than the latter, there would be some colour for calling Popery a bloody religion. Yet even then it would come very short of being full proof of it, unless it were made out, that the blood supposed to be unjustly spilt by the hands of Papists, were owing to the principles of their religion ; for any other proof is wholly foreign to the purpose.

But the Catechist, having no such proofs to produce, entertains his reader with half a dozen old stories. One of which is a repetition of the gunpowder-plot, whereof enough has been said already. Another is Oats's sham plot, of which I have spoken in the preface. It is true indeed much innocent blood was spilt on the occasion of that plot. But it was all Popish blood spilt by Protestant hands. So that I fear the Catechist will pass for a prevaricator in ripping up the memory of a bloody fact, wherein Papists were the only sufferers, and Protestants the only actors.

But the third of the six facts produced by him, to prove Popery a bloody religion, is most superlatively impertinent, viz. The Spanish armada sent to invade England. For is this not a strange sort of argument ? The Spaniards, after an open rupture and war declared with England, sent a powerful fleet to invade it, ergo, Popery is a bloody religion. Suppose a man should argue thus : the English and Dutch in the last war, sent a great fleet to invade Spain, and much blood was spilt, ergo, Protestants are a bloody people, would he not render himself the object of pity or laughter ?

Well, let us then come to his other three bloody stories. The first is (as he expresses himself) the horrid murders and massacres of the poor Waldenses, who have been persecuted with fire and sword, &c. But these poor Waldenses, of whom the Catechist speaks with so much tenderness and compassion, though at first they appeared to profess nothing but poverty, yet in process of time, became great disturbers of the public peace, and pernicious enemies both to the church and state ; and then it was they drew upon themselves the severities that were used against them both by armed force, and the due course of justice, which our learned Catechist is pleased to call murders and massacres. But they were such murders as the executioner of justice commits at Tyburn, and such massacres are often made of rebels, when they come armed into the field. Thus the Albigenses, a spawn of the Waldenses,

appearing in the field to the number of seventy thousand, were massacred (as the Catechist calls it) by the brave Simon of Montfort. Thus likewise Wat Tyler, the ringleader of the English Lollards, and Wycillians (who were chips of the same block) was slain (the Catechist will call it murder) by the courageous lord mayor in the reign of Richard the II. And Sir John Oldcastle fell by the hand of the common hangman in the reign of Henry the Vth. for the honourable cause of rebellion and treason. So that the Catechist, by mentioning the poor Waldenses, has only put us in mind of divers rebellions raised by the viperous brood of those pretended reformers, and the condign punishment they were brought to; which he may call murder or massacre as much as he pleases, but the true English of it is, that they received the just reward of their crimes.

SECT. VIII.

Of the French and Irish Massacres.

Next to his lamentable account of the Waldenses, is ripped up the old story of the massacre of the Huguenots in France, Ann. 1572, which was truly a massacre; but it is universally condemned by all Catholic authors that ever wrote of it, and any other crime committed by any Christian in the world, may as well be charged upon the religion he is of, as that massacre upon the principles of Popery. However what the Catechist says of it, viz. That above thirty or forty thousand innocent persons perished in it, is a gross falsehood; for the greatest part of the persons upon whom this massacre was committed, were far from being innocent, unless the most obstinate, the most bloody, and most villainous rebels that ever were in the world, may be counted innocent persons. They had already maintained a rebellion of above ten years against their lawful sovereign. They had brought an army of foreigners into the very heart of the country, and delivered up Havre de Grace to the English. They had at least compelled the king to a shameful peace, and obliged him to submit to conditions inconsistent both with his honour and safety. They were masters of the strongest places in France, as Montauban, Rochelle, &c. So that the king's authority was become wholly precarious, and his crown was in a manner at the mercy of the Huguenots, who, he knew by past experience, would lay hold of the very first pretence to break the treaty, when they should find it to their advantage to do it. Under these hard circumstances he resolved upon the destruction of his enemies to prevent his own. For things were come to such a height, that the question was not barely whether the ancient religion of France or Huguenotism was to be uppermost? But whether Charles the IXth was to be king or not? Just as at the treaty of Uxbridge, it was not barely the question, whether episcopacy or

presbytery was to be the established religion of England? but whether Charles I. was to be a real king, or only a king of clouts?

Add to this, that the Hugenots themselves had set the example of massacreing in cold blood before they felt the smart of it in their own persons; for the prince of Conde (who had been condemned to loose his head for rebellion under Francis II.) was no sooner released out of prison by the death of that prince, and liberty of conscience granted to the Hugenots, but (as Davila tells us) they became so insolent, that they massacred people in Paris, burnt the church of Madard, rifled monasteries, and committed many other exorbitances.

But Davila may perhaps not be believed, though he be highly esteemed by Protestants themselves for an impartial writer. Let us then hear the account given of these innocent Hugenots by Dr. Heylin. 'A greater diffidence (says he) was raised against the Hugenots, by the unseasonable zeal of the queen of Navarre, who not content with settling the Protestant religion in the country of Berne, where she was resolute and supreme, suffered the Catholics to be infested in the provinces, which she held immediately of the crown; in so much, that at Pamiers (the chief city of the Foix) the Hugenots taking offence at a solemn procession held upon Corpus Christi day, Ann. 1566, betook themselves presently to arms, and falling upon those whom they found unarmed, not only made a great slaughter among the Churchmen, but in the heat of their fury, burnt down their houses; which outrage being suffered to pass unpunished, gave great encouragement and example to some furious zealots to commit the same in other places; as, namely, at Montauban, Calion, Rodez, Perjeaux, Valence, &c.' Thus Dr. Heylin, *Hist. Presb. L. 2. p. 70*. Now all this was six years before the massacre of the Hugenots. And let any man judge whether these persons were innocent, and whether they did not draw on themselves the just vengeance of God, though executed upon them in an illegal manner, by the rage of a provoked and revengeful king?

It appears at least from what has been said, that religion had the least share in the motive of this bloody execution. For the whole business was a Cabinet plot, contrived (as Davila tells us, *L. 5.*) by the king and queen's mother. And neither of these were ever famed as zealots in religion, especially the queen; who always acted the part of a complete trimmer between the Catholic and Protestant party; sometimes leaning to the one, sometimes to the other, as they best served her ambitious desires of ruling. In a word, as it was not religion but revenge and state policy, that determined Henry III. to take off the heads of the Guision party (for they were most zealous Catholics :) and as the same political motive has determined many other princes to destroy their domestic enemies, when they could not do it by the regular course of justice; so it was that determined Charles IX. to the destruction of the Hugenots; whom he could neither bring to justice, nor re-

duce by force of arms. Not that I pretend to draw any argument from thence to justify the thing, but only to shew that men, but especially princes, who generally make state interest their gospel, will do strange things for self-preservation, without consulting religion or conscience in the matter, when they are pushed too far, and are in danger of losing all: which was the very case of Charles IXth, when he resolved on the Bartholomew massacre.

Lastly, the Catechist brings upon the stage the Irish massacre, which he sets forth in the following manner. 'After that (says he) the bloody rebellion of the Papists in Ireland, where they murdered a hundred thousand Protestants without any provocation given, but to kill heretics.' I answer, that there are no less than three falsehoods in these lines. It is true indeed that some of the Irish, particularly in the lower parts of the province of Ulster, rose up in arms, and killed a number of the English Protestants, who had possessed themselves of the lands which the native Irish were unjustly despoiled of. But grossly false, 1. That they killed a hundred thousand. 2. That they did it without provocation. And 3. That they killed them because they were heretics.

As to the number that were killed, my lord Clarendon (who exaggerates almost every thing against Papists) makes it amount to between forty and fifty thousand, *Tom. i. L. 4. p. 287*: so that one-half of the Catechist's calculation is already to be cut off. But my lord Castlemain, in his apology, printed Ann. 1674, not only affirms, but proves to a demonstration, that the number of those, who perished in this insurrection of the Irish, could not amount even to the sixth part of my lord Clarendon's computation. I refer the reader to his book, and desire him to believe no more than he finds clearly proved.*

The second falsehood asserted by the Catechist is, that the Irish committed this barbarity without provocation. If he had said without sufficient provocation, I should have joined issue with him; because no Christian can have a sufficient provocation to commit murder: and we are bound to suffer tyranny and oppression patiently, rather than depart from the law of God. But it seems the Irish had not the virtue and patience of the primitive Christians, who, when they were persecuted, rejoiced in their sufferings and returned good for evil. This the Irish ought to have done, and they had occasion enough given them to do it: for though we may modestly compute, that there were at that time in Ireland, thirty Irish Catholics to one English Protestant (which alone shews the

* *Since the first publication of this Work, and its subsequent editions. This subject called the Irish Rebellion, has been impartially and judiciously discussed in a work entitled, an Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, by Dr. John Curry, published in two volumes. Dublin, 1786, and a late edition published in one Volume in 1810.*

impossibility of the reputed number of the slain, because Ireland was not then computed to have above two millions of inhabitants; and great numbers of the English Protestants avoided the massacre, by flying to Lodonderry, Coleraine, Enniskillen, and other places, which were in the hands of the English) I say, though the Irish Catholics had so great a superiority of numbers over the English Protestants, yet these had the whole power in their hands, and the law on their side, of which they took the advantage upon all occasions, with the utmost rigour and severity. So that the old Irish natives in particular (who began the insurrection) were treated by the English little better than slaves. And this I call a provocation, and am sure the Catechist would think it one, if he and his brethren were used as those Irish were. Let Protestants but reflect upon the rebellion in 1642, and the revolution in 1688, and they will find that a far less provocation cost two British kings very dear. However let that be as it will, the constant experience of mankind teaches us, that when men find themselves grievously galled, they are naturally provoked to take the first opportunity to throw off the yoke that galls them.

But we must distinguish two sorts of actors in the Irish insurrection. The first were the old Irish natives who began it, as I have already said. These were a conquered people, and were moved to it chiefly by the oppressions they lay under, and therefore laid hold of the fair opportunity presented them, as they thought, by the intestine broils in England, to make a bold attempt to recover their ancient liberty. So that to ascribe this popular fury of an oppressed people to no other cause than a desire of killing heretics (as the Catechist is pleased to do) is as ridiculous a piece of nonsense, as it would be to maintain that the Indian slaves, when they rise up against, or murder their English masters, do it purely for the sake of religion, and to kill heretics.

The other actors in this insurrection, were those who are called the ancient English colonists, that is the posterity of those that settled with their families in Ireland, after the conquest of it. But these joined not in the rebellion, until they were driven to it by the violent proceeding of the English parliament: for which I have such good Protestant testimony, as will set the matter in the clearest light. For the news of the insurrection of the old Irish natives was no sooner brought to the parliament. but (as it is in Sander-son, *p.* 444, and Baker, *p.* 504.) 'the English parliament voted, that all the 'Papists of quality in England should be secured,' which the Catholic lords and gentry of Ireland looked upon as a sure prognostic of the severe treatment they were to expect, there being a much more plausible pretence to suspect them than the English; and then they concluded, that all the terrifying reports which had been industriously spread by particular persons for their own wicked ends, would most certainly come to pass: and indeed it happened just as they expected; for (as the said Baker has it, *p.*

540,) the lords Dillon and Taaffe, were seized at Ware, being delegated by the lords of the Irish parliament 'with their advice to his majesty concerning the readiest means to quench the present 'flame.' Nay (as it is in *the history of Independency*, p. 281.) 'the parliament insisted openly to 'have the Papists in Ireland *rooted out, and their lands sold*. And passing an act to that purpose, necessitated the Irish Papists to massacre the English Protestants.

But the following testimony of the king himself in his *Elk. Bas. C. 12. Par. 8. p. 63.* is above all exception. His words are these: 'next to the sin of those who began the rebellion, theirs must be who either hindered the speedy suppression of it by domestic dissensions, or diverted the aids, or exasperated the rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities not only to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that nation: resolving to destroy, root and branch, men, women, and children, without any regard to the usual pleas of mercy, which conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears rather than malice engaged, &c.

Thus spoke king Charles, who knew all that passed; and it is plain from his words that the ancient Catholic colonies in Ireland, were driven into the rebellious measures of the Irish natives by the greatest provocations that flesh and blood are capable of. Nay, I appeal to Protestants themselves, whether their passive obedience and non-resistance be so invincible, that being threatened with the utter ruin of themselves, their wives and children, they would not endeavour to prevent it by the destruction of their enemies, if they thought they had it in their power to do it. I cannot tell what they may do hereafter, but I am sure they cannot yet shew us any Protestant examples of such heroic virtue. However I am far from justifying what the Irish did; but all I pretend to say is, that they were most grievously provoked to it; and that the Catechist is a most notorious misrepresenter of historical facts in saying, that the Irish Papists massacred the English Protestants, without provocation, and that it was to kill heretics. For it is manifest they were hurried into it merely upon a motive of self-preservation, and would undoubtedly have done the very same, had they been Catholics that had threatened their utter destruction. It is true, what they did cannot be justified by any provocation whatsoever; for they ought to have perished rather than save themselves by a breach of God's law. But to say they did it unprovoked, and out of a pure hatred to Protestants, is doing them the greatest injustice.

THE CONCLUSION.

I have now done with the Catechist, who appears indeed to be highly satisfied with his own performance. But I confess I am apt to think his Protestant brethren will not be so fully satisfied with it, but rather suspect he has played booty, to dishonour the Protestant cause, under pretence of writing for it. For though libelling, and barefaced slander, may go down with the very dregs and scum of the people, yet all sober thinking men cannot but be most highly scandalized at it; because it will be apt to make men conclude, that the Protestant cause will admit of no better defence.

Let us suppose, that in a dispute between a Catholic and Protestant, the Catholic instead of stating fairly the doctrine of his Protestant adversary, should not only represent it under the falsest colours, but even charge him with doctrines which Protestants abhor in their hearts, and disclaim upon all occasions: suppose again, that instead of defending himself against his Protestant adversary with solid arguments from reason or authority, he should make it his business to rip up numberless old stories of facts committed by the very worst of Protestants, and then tell his reader, that these men acted according to the principles of their religion; or what is still worse, accuse them of facts they never committed: suppose, I say, a Catholic writer should be guilty of this foul dealing, would not all men of sense conclude it to be impossible, that truth should be on the side of a person reduced to the necessity of supporting his cause by such vile means? For my part, I declare sincerely, if I found any Catholic writer arming himself with forgery and slander instead of sober reasoning against Protestants, it would startle me extremely, and be apt to make me stagger in my faith, especially if I observed, that the generality of our divines followed that method.

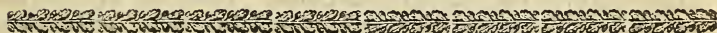
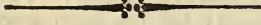
The reason hereof is plain, because every body, that has but a grain of good sense, knows that misrepresenting, reviling, and slandering, are not only the foulest stains upon the credit and reputation of any cause, but even betray a consciousness in the author, that the cause he maintains has not a solid foundation of its own to stand upon. For if he thought it could stand firm upon its own bottom, he would never hazard the reputation of it, by employing the most unchristian means to support it. Hence it is, that truth being able to maintain itself by fair and solid reasoning, not only disdains the ordinary little artifices of fallacy and misrepresentation, but utterly abhors to receive any assistance from the vile hands of falsehood or slander. Whereas lies can only be maintained by lies; and there is no surer mark of a bad cause, than when, instead of standing a fair trial of argument and reason, it has recourse to such unwarrantable methods for its defence, as

no man will make if he be persuaded that he has the truth on his side. In a word, a good cause stands in no need of dishonourable ways to maintain itself, and a bad cannot subsist without them.— The principle I have here laid down is so plain, that it cannot be contested, either by Protestants or Catholics ; and I leave every one to make his own reflections upon it, according as Almighty God shall inspire him for the good of his soul.

THE
REFORMED CHURCHES
PROVED DESTITUTE
OF A
Lawful Ministry.

How shall they preach unless they be sent ?

ROM. x. 15.



THE INTRODUCTION.

Containing some directions for persons, who either have their religion yet to choose, or are already engaged in a wrong choice.

Every man come to the perfect use of reason, is bound to be of some religion to serve God in, according to the condition or station allotted to him by the Divine Providence: and it is a concern of the highest importance not to be mistaken in the choice of it, for nothing less than a man's eternal welfare depends upon it, and all is lost if he makes a false step in it. Indifference must therefore be laid aside; for he who is indifferent whether he saves his soul, or not, will most certainly perish; neither must he consult interest, or ease, or education; for if he does, he will be in the utmost danger of making a wrong choice. Interest and ease will press hard upon him to embrace that religion, which favours them most, whether it be the true one or not; and education, if it be allowed to determine a man in the choice of his religion, will fix him as immoveable in Judaism, Mahometanism, Socinianism, or Quakerism, as in the true church of Christ. No man therefore ought to consider whether the church, whereof he is a member, be the church of the country where he is born, whether it be most favourable to his interest, liberty, and ease; or, finally, whether it be the church, in which he is most like to make his fortune? But his whole examination ought to be of this one single point, viz. whether it be the true church of Christ in which alone salvation can be attained.

But how is it possible for the greatest part of mankind, such as merchants, soldiers, tradesmen, servants, or day-labourers, who are usually of narrow capacities in relation to things out of their proper sphere, destitute of learning, and embarked in the cares and solitudes of this life; how is it possible, I say, for these to be duly qualified for this important choice? The reason of the difficulty is plain, because there is but one faith according to St. Paul, and but one holy, Catholic and apostolic church, according to the Nicene creed; whereas there are innumerable other churches, which all pretend to be the true church of Christ. Lutherans say they are this church, Calvinists say the same, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and many more put likewise in their claim; and the church of Rome condemns all these, and says she is the only true church upon earth. And is it then possible for ignorant laity, amidst the daily hurry of business and throng of temporal concerns to have either leisure or capacity to inform themselves, exactly of all the disagreeing systems of so many churches at variance with one another, to examine to the bottom the grounds of their several

pretensions, the truth or falsehood of their particular doctrine wherein they are divided, and all the reasons and scriptural texts that appear to be for or against them? Nothing can be plainer than that this is morally impossible. And so we must conclude the greatest part of mankind is in no condition to find the true church, or determine themselves in the choice of their religion by this sort of examination, which entirely surpasses their capacity.

It is however certain, that since Christ has established upon earth a church for the salvation of men of all states and conditions, whether poor or rich, servants or masters, learned or unlearned, it must be possible for men of all states to distinguish the true church of Christ from such other churches as are no part of it; for otherwise they would not have it in their power either to mend their choice, if they have already made a bad one, or to make a right choice if, by the misfortunes of their education, they should be engaged in a wrong way, or even to know that they are in the true church, when the Divine Providence has effectually bestowed that blessing on them.

Hence it follows, that there must be some other way besides the examination of particular points of doctrine, for ignorant people, either to make a rational choice of their religion, or to fix them with an entire security in the religion they have received by education, in case it be their happiness to have been brought up in the true one.

But what way is there proportioned to their capacities, to discern the only one true church from so many others, when all pretend to be this one true church? I answer, there are a great number of general arguments, plain and easy to be understood, which mark out the true church as clearly as a pillar set up at the meeting of several roads, directs travellers to the way they are to take; and there are likewise some general principles, by which a false church may be known as clearly as rocks and shelves under water are known by the marks set up to warn seamen against them.

Let us then suppose a person is deliberating, whether he shall embrace the Roman Catholic faith, or continue a member of the church wherein he has been educated? I assure him, he will stand in no need of learning to make a right choice, but only of some natural good sense, and a hearty resolution to save his soul, if he will but weigh with attention, and without prejudice, the following general considerations I shall lay before him:

First, there are in the gospels the fullest and plainest promises of a perpetual infallibility made by Christ to his church, as will appear from the following texts, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" *Matt.* xvi. 18. "I will ask my Father, and he will send you another Comforter to abide with you for ever;" *John* xiv. 16. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my

name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you; *John* xiv. 26. "I have yet many things to say unto you: but you cannot hear them now. However, when the Spirit of Truth is come, he will lead you into all truth;" *John* xvi. 13. "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world;" *Matt.* xxviii. 20. All which is confirmed by St. Paul calling the church of Christ "The pillar and ground of truth;" *1 Tim.* iii. 15.

Nothing surely can be stronger for the proof of an infallible church than these texts. There must therefore be such a church upon earth, if Christ has been true to his word. Now all the reformed churches in the world unanimously own themselves to be fallible; it follows therefore that the Roman Catholic church alone is the infallible church of Christ, as she has always maintained her claim to that title; and surely a Christian, who seriously resolves to save his soul, will choose an infallible church for his guide, rather than a fallible one.

2dly, Protestants generally accuse us of want of charity, in denying the possibility of salvation to any but those of our own communion, I presume then their charity is more extensive than ours, for otherwise it would be ridiculous to declaim against us for the want of it; and so they can do no less than to allow the possibility of salvation to Roman Catholics; that is to say, they are convinced in their hearts, that Roman Catholics may be saved in their religion, because otherwise it would be no charity to tell them so, any more than it would be a charity to tell a man that he can be saved in a damnable state.

Now, in a dispute about the truth of revealed mysteries, which are above our understanding, and which by consequence cannot be decided by the force of human reason, it cannot be doubted, but the safest and wisest course we can take to secure the salvation of our souls, is to depend upon the greatest authority upon earth. And therefore, since the authority of both Catholics and Protestants joined together, is greater than that of Protestants alone, it follows plainly that it is both safest for any man to choose the Roman Catholic church preferably to any of the reformed churches, which alone allows salvation to be attainable in their own communion, wherea sthe declared enemies of the Roman Catholic church allow it to be attainable in the communion of that church: Catholics therefore cannot be suspected of partiality in their own cause relating to this point, because they have their very enemies on their own side; but Protestants may be suspected of partiality, because they are the sole judges in their own cause, and have not only the whole body of Roman Catholics now extant in the world, but the the authority of all the councils, bishops, and pastors of the Catholic church, for fifteen ages before the reformation, against them. Mr. Lesly in his case stated, is pleased to call this a childish argument, but I have not yet seen a solid answer to it.

3dly, there are numberless examples of persons brought up Protestants from their infancy, who in their last sickness have embraced the Catholic faith. A no less man than king Charles II. was one of these. But I dare boldly challenge Protestants to produce one single example of a person brought up from his infancy in the Roman Catholic faith, who ever changed his religion upon his death-bed? Whence I conclude, that even in the judgment of many persons brought up with a prejudice to us, it is safer dying a Catholic than a Protestant: and then I am sure it is likewise safer to live in the Catholic church, because many, who have had a design of dying Catholics, have been justly disappointed, either by a sudden death, or the want of opportunity to be reconciled in their last sickness.

4thly, whereas great numbers of Protestants, by becoming Catholics, have not only changed their religion but manners, and from libertines as they were before, have become sober and regular Christians, nay, even embraced the austerities of a religious state. I never heard of any Catholic, who, upon his turning Protestant, ever became more sober, more chaste, more just, more charitable or pious than he was before. On the contrary, the lives of those, who fall from the Catholic religion, are generally so disedifying, and sometimes even publicly scandalous, that they are a dishonour rather than a credit to the church they come over to. Nay, in the very beginning of the Reformation, it was notoriously remarkable, that libertinism and impiety increased proportionably as Luther's and Calvin's new gospel made its progress; which the reader will find proved with the utmost evidence from Protestant testimonies in the following *Tract Art. 3.*

But is it any wonder that persons, broke loose from the whole restraints of confessing and punishing their sins, should be more easily carried away by all the inclinations of corrupt nature, than they who believe themselves bound in conscience to confess their most secret sins, to perform the penance imposed upon them, to restore whatever they possess unjustly, to make reparation of honour, if they have wronged their neighbour in his fame, and to avoid all the immediate occasions of relapses? It is morally impossible it should be otherwise; and it follows from it that Roman Catholics, who are under all these and many more restraints, must needs be in a safer way to Heaven, than they who have none of these restraints laid upon them.

I hope, however, no one will suspect I pretend to accuse modern Protestants of directly encouraging Libertinism or vice by any positive principle of their religion; for I should wrong them if I did. But what I say is, that they have deprived themselves of the most powerful remedy against vice, by reforming away the sacrament of Penance, which we may properly call the strongest fence about the law; and this being pulled down by the reformation, there is no need of encouraging the people to break in upon God's command-

ments. It suffices that the restraints of shame and fear, the one of confessing, the other of punishing their sins, are left to themselves; because corrupt nature, thus set at liberty, will after that set its own part, and be too hard for the commandments left thus unguarded.

5thly, A motive, which sufficed to fix so great and learned a man as St. Austin in the religion he had chosen, is surely no weak one, and may suffice to direct any man, whether learned or unlearned, in the choice he has to make. Let us then hear his own words.—‘Lastly, (says he) the very name of Catholic holds me; of which this church alone has not, without reason, so kept the possession, that though all heretics desire to be called Catholics, yet if a stranger asks them where Catholics meet, no heretic dare to point out his own house or church.’ But what church is it, in which St. Austin was held stedfast by the very name of Catholics? His words immediately proceeding are a full answer to this question.—‘Thirdly, (says he) a succession of bishops descending from the see of St. Peter, to whom Christ after his resurrection committed his flock, holds me in the church.’—*Contra Epist. Fund. C. 4.*—It is plain then, it was the church in communion with the see of Rome, St. Austin had chosen for his guide: it was in this church he was held by the very name of Catholic, because she had always had, and has had ever since so full and undisputed a possession of this honourable title, that no communion separated from her was ever able either to gain it to itself, or dispossess her of it.

But what means the word Catholic? It is a Greek word, and signifies the same as universal: and this is so essential a condition of the true church, that no society upon earth can pretend to be a part of it, unless it be in the communion of that church, which has universality both of time and place: of time, by being the standing church of all ages since the time of the apostles; and of place, by having on its side the agreement of people and nations, according to St. Austin’s expression. Both which parts of the church’s universality are clearly marked out in the word of God.

Her universality of time is marked out by Christ promising his apostles, that “the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,” *Matt.* xvi. 18. And “that he will be with them always even unto the end of the world;” *Matt.* xxviii. 20. And by Isaias in these prophetic words, “this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord. My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed’s seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.” *Isa.* lix. 21.

Her universality of place, marked out first by God’s promise to Abraham, that “all nations of the earth should be blessed in his seed;” *Gen.* xxii. 18. 2dly, by the Psalmist, “ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;” *Psal.* ii. 8. And again:

"praise the Lord all ye nations, praise the Lord all ye people;" *Psal. cxvi.* 3dly, by *Isaia*s describing "the future glory of the church of Christ in the multitude of people and nations flocking to her," *Isa. lx.* And lastly, by Christ himself giving commission to the apostles and their successors "to go and teach all nations;" *Matt. xxviii. 19.*

Here then it behoves the reader to examine impartially, whether those two parts of universality are to be found in the church of Rome, or in any of the reformed churches? because, in whatever church they are found, it cannot be doubted but that is the true church of Christ.

As to the church of Rome, that is to say, the church in communion with the see of Rome, she has not only had an uninterrupted visible being from the time of the apostles to this day, but has always been the most illustrious society of Christians upon earth.—She has likewise preached the gospel to the most remot and barbarous nations in the world, who have also received the faith of Christ from her bishops and pastors; and not only they, but likewise those very nations of Europe, in which the reformed churches are now established; as England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and the Protestant parts of Germany and Switzerland: for all these were converted from Heathenism to Christianity by missionaries sent by the church of Rome, as is manifest from their unanimous profession of the religion, called Popery, for several ages after their conversion till the pretended reformation. Nay, she has at this very time bishops and pastors propagating the gospel among the infidels, both of the East and West-Indies; therefore universality of place, or as St. Austin calls it, the agreement of people and nations, cannot possibly be denied her.

But can any of the reformed churches lay claim to this universality either of time or place? Alas! it is but two hundred and seventy-seven years ago, since the very first of them began to creep out of the shell, and it was some years after, before the rest came into the world. It is plain then that the very eldest of them wants near fifteen hundred years of universality of time; and as to universality of place, I should be glad to know, what barbarous or heathen nation has ever been converted by missionaries of any of the reformed churches, though they have all the opportunity imaginable to do it, by reason of the great trade several of them have both in the East and West-Indies? Nay, is there any one of those churches that ever extended itself beyond what we may properly call a corner of the earth, comparatively to the large extent, both in and out of Europe, of the Roman Catholic church? This, therefore, makes it likewise plain, that they have no universality of place; and being all separated from the communion of the church of Rome, which has universality both of time and place, they can be no part of the Catholic church, nor have any claim to that honourable title: the consequence whereof is, that they are

no part of the true church, in which alone salvation can be obtained, according to this saying of Christ, "if he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican;" *Matt.* xviii. 17. that is, let him be regarded as a reprobate, or one in a damnable state.

6thly, The reformed churches, not one excepted, are either guilty of schism, or no church in the world was ever guilty of it. Nay we may confidently say they have the plainest marks of schismatical churches it is possible for a church to have. For what is schism, but an obstinate and wilful separation from the communion of the true church of God? Now the first reformers boasted openly that they had separated themselves from the whole world, and it is a plain fact they did so. If therefore God has always had a true church upon earth, as it is evidently an undeniable truth he has, the consequence is, that they had separated themselves from the true church, as well as from other churches, which surely suffices to convince any man that his soul cannot be safe in any of the reformed churches.

7thly, There can be no true church, but what has its origin from Christ and his apostles: and this is likewise a truth that cannot be contested. Now it is a plain historical fact, that the reformation began near upon fifteen hundred years after the ascension of Christ, that is, Ann. 1517; and by consequence that there were none of the present reformed churches in the world before that time: because there could be no reformed churches before the reformation, which gave them their birth. And how then can any of these churches pretend to be a part of the true one, that is, of the church established by Christ and his apostles? Did they incorporate themselves with any pre-existing church that was a part of the true one? No; they separated themselves from the whole world; they therefore began upon a new establishment, and are no more a part of any Christian church that was before them, than they are a part of the Jewish synagogue, and so they can be no part of the church founded by the apostles, which was surely before them.

If any one pretends that the reformed church, whereof he is a member, has always had a being, though it had not been always visible to men, I really pity his case, and advise him as a friend to give up the cause honestly and fairly, rather than have recourse to such a wretched shift for its defence, which in reality is a cover for the most ridiculous sect upon earth; for who will pretend to defeat an invisible host? And so a Muggletonian, or Quaker, will be as safe behind his entrenchment of an invisible church, and with the help of this ingenious invention, trace the origin of his church to Christ and his apostles, as easily as any reformed church in Europe.

8thly. There can be no security of salvation in a church, whose very rule of faith is an inexhaustible source of divisions, errors, and contradictions. Now whereas the Catholic rule of faith is the

Word of God, as interpreted to us by the church of Christ, that of the reformed churches is scripture interpreted by private judgment ; so that the guide of Catholics is the greatest authority upon earth ; and the guide of Protestants is every man's private judgment ; because whoever appeals to scriptures, and throws aside the church's interpretation of them, appeals effectually to his own private judgment, and acknowledges no other guide, which I justly call an inexhaustible source of divisions, errors, and contradictions ; and I need not insist upon any other proof of it than the numberless jarring sects, all spawned from the reformation, which set up this pernicious rule, and soon saw the natural fruits of it in as monstrous a babel or confusion, as the infinite diversity of private judgments must unavoidably produce. The reader will find this at large towards the end of the 3d article ; and so I leave every man of common sense to judge, whether (considering the sublimeness of divine mysteries on the one hand, and the narrow compass of human reason, together with its prowess to be biassed by interest or prejudice, on the other) whether, I say, persons be not safer as to their eternal salvation under the conduct of pastors, who reject a rule which is the fruitful source of errors, and adhere to the authority established by Christ himself for our guide, than they that are guided by ministers, who, by a fundamental principle of their religion, are bound to own, that scriptures interpreted by private judgment, is the only rule of their faith.

9thly, no man can hope to work his salvation in a church which has no lawful ministry ; that is, no lawful power to preach the word and administer the sacraments : and

10thly, the only church, in which a Christian can hope to work his salvation is that, which derives its doctrine from Christ and his apostles.

If therefore I prove these two points, viz. that none of the reformed churches have a lawful ministry, and the Roman Catholic church is the only church upon earth, that derives its doctrine from Christ and his apostles, the undeniable consequence will be, 1. that salvation cannot be hoped for in any of the reformed churches, and 2. that it can only be attained in the Roman Catholic church.

The proof of these two important points is the whole subject of the following small treatise, and I may truly say, it goes all at once to the very bottom of the cause in such a manner, that without the examination of any one particular point of doctrine, both the learned and unlearned, may not only clearly see what churches are to be avoided, as so many rocks on which their eternal salvation will most certainly suffer shipwreck, but likewise find that church, which alone is a safe harbour wherein it may be secured,

The endeavours I have used to set this whole matter in its clearest light, will perhaps displease such insincere souls as hate the light because it incommodes them, But I hope they will be acceptable to all sincere lovers of the truth, whatever persuasion

they are of: and it is for these alone the following sheets are designed, which have no other end in view, than to mark out to them the way of truth and salvation, that they either may walk on steadily in that way, if they find themselves already in it, or enter into it, if choice or education has misled them into a wrong path.

ARTICLE I.

No lawful Ministry without a lawful Mission.

Every civil government has within itself a source from which all lawful power and authority is derived; and no particular member of any society can lay claim to any part of this power or authority, unless it flows to him from that source. No man, for example, is treated as a public minister, unless he shews his credentials from the prince or state that sends him; nor respected and obeyed as a magistrate, unless he be called to that dignity, and vested with that authority annexed to it by superior powers. Nay it would be highly ridiculous in any man to intrude himself into the very meanest office, even of a private family, without the express or presumed consent of the master or mistress of it. This is the established order of the government of the world, and so manifestly conformable to reason and common sense, that without it all states, or kingdoms, or even lesser societies, would be no better than so many multitudes of disorder and confusion.

Now the same principle is applicable to the church as well as to a secular state, but with this material difference; that as every secular state formed itself at first by common consent into a civil society, so had it the liberty to choose what form of government, and establish what laws it pleased for the public good. But the church as such is a divine society, as having a divine origin. For it was not established by men but by God himself, Jesus Christ, God and Man its immediate founder and lawgiver; and he is still its supreme divine head, governor, and sovereign pastor. It is therefore bound to keep those laws, that form of government under him, and that method of conveying it down, which was at first established by him. Nor is there any power upon earth can either change the laws, or dispense with the conditions, or deviate from the ways and methods he has marked out to us.

Here then we need but consult the word of God to inform ourselves, upon what footing the conveyance of the ecclesiastical ministry is established by him. Let us first hear Christ himself speak in the following sacred words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber;" *John* x. 1. Here all are declared thieves and robbers, that is, usurpers of the

sacred ministry, who enter not by the door. And least we should mistake the meaning of this figurative expression, he explains it thus: ver. 7. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep." So that whoever enters upon the ministry, and has not his mission from Christ either immediately, as the apostles had, or mediately by deriving it from them or their lawful successors, are here marked out in the character of thieves and robbers.—Whence it plainly follows, that any society of men, let them be as numerous as they please, or boast of their purity as much as they please, can never be a true church, if it has not a ministry originally derived from Christ by an uninterrupted succession of lawful pastors: because the true church can never be without true pastors; and without a ministry originally derived from Christ by an uninterrupted succession in the same communion there can be no true pastors.

This then is the foundation of the ecclesiastical ministry laid by Christ himself; and St. Paul his faithful apostle and interpreter, teaches the same doctrine in his epistle to the Romans, *C. x. 15*. "How can they preach unless they be sent?". For if they be not sent they can be nothing else but intruders into the sheepfold, usurpers of the sacred ministry, and, in a word, thieves and robbers.

But the example of Christ himself, is most certainly of the greatest weight to convince us, that no man can legally enter upon the sacred ministry, except he be sent according to the order established by God. For if the Son of God took not upon him the preaching of the gospel but as sent by his eternal Father, what sacrilegious arrogance and presumption must it then be in men to assume to themselves this sacred function without a commission from any lawful authority? Our Saviour therefore, to render us sensible of the necessity of a true mission for every minister of the gospel, judged it requisite upon several occasions to prove his own mission to the Jews. I shall omit a great many passages for brevity's sake, and only quote a few from St. John, who writes thus: "Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and taught: and the Jews marvelled, saying, how knoweth this man letters having never learned? Jesus answered them and said, my doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he will know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory, but he that seeketh his glory that sent me, the same is true and no unrighteousness is in him;" *John vii. 14. 15, &c.*

However the Jews persisting still to question his authority, he answered them, "I am not come of myself, but He that sent me is true, whom ye know not. But I know Him, for I am from him, and he hath sent me." *vii. 28. 29.*

Again the following words are very remarkable. "He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him, For I have not spoken of myself, but the Father who sent

me, He gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak :’ *John* xii. 48. 49,

Here our Saviour declares positively, that he spoke nothing but what he was commanded to speak by his Father, And this implies no less, than that if he had preached any doctrine, either contrary to, or beyond the commission he had received from his Father (which indeed the impeccability of his sacred person rendered impossible) he would have preached without the authority requisite for that function.

However, to render us still more sensible of the necessity of an uncontested mission, our Saviour will prove his by a great number of illustrious miracles ; and more particularly by that which, for its circumstances, appeared more illustrious than the rest : for though all the miracles of his life were to shew from whom he came, as they did by the divine power and goodness which shined in them ; yet the raising of Lazarus, and the loud prayer he made to his Father before it, were not only intended, but expressly declared to be done, for the notifying and proving of that mission, from which alone all other true missions were to be derived afterwards to the end of the world. For St. John expressly tells us, that when he was on the point of raising Lazarus, ‘ he lifted up his eyes and said, Father I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I know that thou hearest me always : but because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me,’ *John* xi. 41. 42. It is plain our Saviour here proves his mission from the miraculous power given him to raise Lazarus, as being a divine and public testimony of it, since it was asked for that very end in the people’s own hearing, and no sooner asked but granted.

Thus did our Saviour take care not only to assert but prove his mission, in order to mark out clearly to his church the sacred source, from whence the lawful exercise of the ecclesiastical ministry must indispensably flow. Christ himself had his mission from God, ‘ Who gave him all power in Heaven and on earth ;’ *Matt.* xxviii. 18. He communicated it to his apostles, ‘ As my Father sent me, even so I send you ;’ *John* xx. 21. And again. “ Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.’ *Matt.* xxviii. 19. The apostles, as the church increased, ordained bishops and priests according to the power they had received from Christ, and assigned to each of them the particular churches they were to feed and govern. These took care to transmit the same power to their successors, as these did likewise to theirs. And so the sacred ministry of governing and feeding the flock of Christ, by preaching the word and administering the sacraments, has been handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles throughout all ages to the present time, and will be continued in the same manner to the end of the world, according to St. Paul, *Eph.* iv. 11; 12, 13.

For this reason Tertullian, in his book of *Prescriptions*, C. 37, pressed the heretics of his time with this question : *Qui estis vos ?*

Quando & unde venistis? Who are you? when and whence did you come? Whence have you your mission? How can you prove that you have entered by the door and are not thieves and robbers? The same Tertullian, C. 3. writes thus: "let them produce (says he) the origin of their church, let them give us a list of their bishops, drawn down by succession from the beginning, so that their first bishop was either an apostle, or an apostolical man continuing to the end, in the communion of the apostles for his predecessor." In effect the constant practice of the ancient fathers, to prove against heretics the truth of the doctrine taught by the Catholic church, was by shewing this uninterrupted succession of Catholic bishops and pastors from the same communion from the apostles, and on the contrary to defy their adversaries to shew any such succession of bishops teaching the discriminating doctrine of their sects.

St. Cyprien, Epist. 76, says of Novation, that 'he was not in the church, nor could he be counted a bishop (as to the power of jurisdiction) because despising apostolical tradition, he came of himself, and succeeded to no body,' to wit, in his own communion.

'A succession of bishops' (says St. Austin, *contra Epist. Fund.* C. 4.) 'descending from the see of St. Peter to the present episcopacy, holds me in the Catholic church.' And St. Optatus writes thus to the Donatists: 'since you pretend to be the church of God, shew the origin of your bishops? For if they had pretended to produce a catalogue of bishops descending from the apostles, they would have been answered that those were not bishops of the Donatist, but of the Catholic church, and that therefore Donatus himself was the first bishop of the separate church he had set up, and could shew no succession of bishops that were before him of his communion.'

This shews plainly, what the ancient fathers thought of all communions that had separated themselves from the Catholic church, and that they regarded them no otherwise than as usurpers of the ecclesiastical ministry, as invaders of the priestly office, and in a word as societies destitute of all power and authority of either preaching the word, or administering the sacraments; the consequence whereof is, that they were no part of the true church of Christ, from which the true ministry is wholly inseparable. Nay, Mr. Lesly, a writer of the church of England, well known, has the same contemptible opinion of all the dissenting Protestant churches as the fathers had of the heretical and schismatical communions of their times; for in his treatise of *private Judgment and Authority*, p. 222. he writes thus: 'the dissenters have no commission or succession to shew; they have thrust themselves as guides upon the road towards heaven upon their own heads not above one hundred and forty years ago, in utter contempt and opposition to all the guides of God's appointment from the days of the apostles.'—Whence he justly concludes, that they have no authority at all ei-

her to preach the word, or administer the holy sacraments which God has instituted, or to bless in his name.

Here Mr. Lesly agrees exactly with me in the important principle I have laid down ; and I should be glad he agreed as well with me in the application of it. But how unjust are men in their balances ? How clear-sighted are they in seeking the defects of others, and how blind at the same time not to see their own in the very same kind ?

He tells us first, the dissenters have no commission or succession to shew. I grant they have not. But how will he shew the commission of succession of the Protestant church of England ? since it is an undeniable fact, that for nine hundred years together before the pretended reformation of that church, all her bishops were in communion with the church of Rome, and agreed with her in sacraments, doctrine, and practice ; as in monastical vows, in prayer for the relief of the dead, in the invocation of saints, in adoring the blessed sacrament, and receiving the definitions of former councils for transubstantiation, the veneration of holy images and relics, and the Pope's supremacy, &c.

First, then, I ask, from whom the first Protestant bishops of the church of England had their commission to teach a doctrine, directly opposite in all the forementioned articles to that of all the Catholic bishops their predecessors ? if they pretend to have had it from them, the thing is wholly incredible, as will appear more fully hereafter. Yet I cannot imagine how they came by it any other way, unless it was sent them immediately from Heaven, and so their mission was extraordinary like that of the apostles ; which also will not be easily believed without good proofs, and I fear it will be a hard task to find any.

I ask, 2dly, from whom the first Protestant bishops of the church of England derived their succession ; that is, from what bishop of their own communion, since all the English bishops before them were Roman Catholics, that is, in the communion of the bishop of Rome ? If they alledge the validity of their ordination, and their being in possession of the ancient episcopal sees of their Catholic predecessors, who certainly derived their succession from the apostles ? I answer, that though their ordination were valid, which we utterly deny, this would be insufficient to prove their succession to be truly apostolical ; because there is something more required to make good this title than a valid ordination, and the possession of the episcopal sees of their predecessors, viz. their being members of the same church and communion with those, whose successors they pretend to be. For otherwise it will follow, that the Arian and Donatist bishops were the true successors of the apostles, because their ordination was most certainly valid, and they filled the ancient sees of the Catholic bishops their predecessors : but since it would be highly absurd to grant this (because persons cut off by heresy, and excommunication from the church founded by the apos-

ties, cannot possibly be called their true successors) it is manifest the English Protestant clergy will never prove their succession to be apostolical, unless they can convince us that they are members of the same church and communion with the Catholic bishops that went before them, any more than the Arian and Donatist bishops formerly were. Hence it plainly follows, that if some expedient be not found out to fill up a gap of nine hundred years, in all which space of time there were no Protestant bishops or parsons in the whole kingdom of Great Britain, they may as well pretend to derive their succession from Aaron as from the apostles.

But to return back to Mr. Lesly. He tells us, 2dly, "that the dissenters thrust themselves as guides upon the road towards Heaven upon their own heads, not above one hundred and forty years ago." And pray how many more years ago is it, that the bishops and parsons of the reformed church of England appeared first as guides upon the road towards Heaven? If Mr. Lesly be unwilling to satisfy his Protestant brethren in a point of that importance, I shall do it for him. The pretended reformation of England began about the year 1533, and queen Elizabeth came not to the crown till Ann. 1558. So that it was not finished till some years after the middle of that century. Now if we count back one hundred and forty years from the time that Mr. Lesly wrote his book of *private Judgment and Authority*, we may, by a very easy computation, discover the exact epocha of time, when his Protestant bishops and parsons appeared first as guides upon the road towards Heaven; and the difference of age between his church, and that of the dissenters will be found to be so inconsiderable, as no ways deserved his notice. We are likewise sure the Protestant guides of the church of England were never sent or sought for by any of the Popish bishops, their predecessors; and so the likewise sympathize in this with the dissenters, that they thrust themselves as guides upon the road of their own heads; unless they will claim an extraordinary mission immediately from God; for which, if they can shew the testimony of miracles, as the apostles did, we shall be ready to believe them.

Lastly, Mr. Lesly tells us, that the dissenters thrust themselves as guides upon the road in utter contempt and opposition to all the guides of God's appointment from the days of the apostles. It seems then that there were guides of God's appointment from the very time of the apostles till the pretended reformation; and if they were of God's appointment, were they Protestants or Papists? They could not be Protestants before there were any reformed churches in being; it is plain then they were all Papists before the reformation, at least in the island of Great Britain, where no religion but Popery was ever professed for nine hundred years together, till the change of it introduced by Henry VIII., carried on by Edward VI., and finished by queen Elizabeth. It was therefore effected in utter contempt and opposition to all the bishops and pastors, who had

been the guides of God's appointment for nine hundred years together.

And how then can Mr. Lesly reproach the dissenters with this unwarrantable proceeding, since it is plain they only followed the example his church had set them? Nay, may we not legally conclude against him, as he does against the dissenters, that his church has no authority at all either to preach the word or administer the holy sacraments which God has instituted, or to bless in his name? And so, according to his own principle, she is no part of the true church of Christ as being destitute of a lawful mission, and guilty of having usurped the sacred ministry without commission or succession.

But let that be as it will, it is manifest, both from scripture and tradition, that there can be no lawful ministry without a lawful mission: which is precisely the principle I have established. Nor do I know any Protestant so unreasonable as to deny it, though they all differ from us in the application of it. On the contrary, all the reformed churches labour with their utmost force to prove the legality of their mission, some one way, some another; and it shall now be my business to prove that it is impossible for any of them to make good their title; which if I do, every Protestant, whatever reformed church he is a member of, must be sensible that he is out of the way of salvation, because salvation cannot be attained to in a church, in which there is no lawful administration of the sacraments, or under the conduct of guides who have not entered into the sheepfold by the door, and are stigmatized by Christ himself with the infamous character of thieves and robbers.

ARTICLE II.

The Disagreement amongst Protestants concerning their Mission.

Disagreement and contradictions in a dispute about a title, which for its importance ought to be clear and uncontested, is of itself a strong proof of its nullity. There is not, for example, a bishop or inferior pastor in the communion of the church of Rome but can prove the validity of his title to the sacred ministry as clearly, as an officer in the army can shew his commission for the respective post he holds; and it cannot be doubted but the reformed churches would prove theirs with the same uncontested evidence, and there would be the same harmony amongst them in this point, as there is amongst Roman Catholics, if their title to the ministry were grounded upon a solid foundation like that of the church of Rome? Whereas, on the contrary, nothing perplexes Protestants more than the question Tertullian put to the heretics of his time

“who are you? whence did you come?” that is, when we press them to give an account of their mission or vocation to the ministry of the gospel; because the first reformers having broke off from the communion of the whole world (as both Luther and Calvin attest in their writings) it is hard to conceive what way a lawful mission could possibly be conveyed to them; and if the first reformers had no lawful mission, their successors can have none.

Here then they all find themselves involved in an inextricable labyrinth of difficulties, what way soever they turn themselves; and they vary in their opinions about it just according as they are pressed on this or that side by the arguments of their adversaries. They, who chiefly consider the difficulty of maintaining their pretensions to an ordinary mission, fly for sanctuary to an extraordinary one; and they who find themselves driven out of this entrenchment, endeavour to make the best shift they can by having recourse to an ordinary one.

Luther and Calvin, with some others, as they were the apostles of the reformation, so we find them at the head of that party which stood up for an extraordinary mission; for they considered that they had set up a new gospel, a new church government, a new ministry, a new communion, and had separated themselves from all Christian societies in the world. They judged it therefore the best and safest course they could take, never to trouble their heads with proving their ordinary mission, which they plainly saw was a defenceless cause, and so resolved to set a good bold face upon the matter, and challenge to themselves an immediate mission to reform the church, not from men, but from God himself. But lest those, who may be sensible of the folly and extravagance of this pretension should suspect the truth of it, and imagine I pretend to fight against my own shadow, I shall prove it by the clearest evidence from their own writings.

First, Martin Luther, speaks thus of himself: ‘I am sure (says he) I have my doctrine from Heaven.’ *Tom. 2. Fol. 333.* And again; ‘I was the first to whom God vouchsafed to reveal the things which have been preached to you.’ *Tom. 7. Fol. 274.* and *Tom. 2. Fol. 305.* he writes thus: ‘since now I am certain I preach the word of God, it is not fit I should want a title for the recommending of this word and work of the ministry, to which I am called by God: which I have not received of men, nor by men, but by the gift of God and revelation of Jesus Christ.’ This is a plain and positive averring that he had not his doctrine by succession from any that went before him, nor by consequence from the apostolical church, which surely was before him; and this alone suffices to condemn him and his doctrine, unless he can prove effectually that he had it immediately from Heaven.

Calvin is full as plain upon the matter, *Epist. 190*, to the king of Poland, where he writes thus: ‘Since by the Pope’s tyranny the succession has been interrupted, the church could not be re-

established without a new ministry—So that the commission our Saviour gave us to assemble the churches was wholly extraordinary. And since the supporters of true piety appeared suddenly in an extraordinary manner, their vocation is not to be examined by the common rules, but they were raised immediately by God, to the end that having established the churches, they should ordain other pastors to succeed them.'

In another work, entitled *the true Method of Reforming the Church*, he writes in the following manner: 'I have already said that an ordinary vocation is necessary when the state of the church is uncorrupted, or at least tolerable; but will this tie up the hand of God, and hinder him from raising, in an extraordinary manner, prophets and other ministers to re-establish his church, when it is utterly ruined?' Then he proceeds to apply this to the first reformers, as men raised by God in an extraordinary manner.

Theodorus Beza who succeeded Calvin in the government of the church of Geneva, maintained the same in his conference with the cardinal of Lorraine at Poissy, where he tells his adversary, 'that though some of the first reformers might have insisted upon their mission as derived from the church of Rome, yet they voluntarily renounced their ordination as the mark of the beast, and chose rather to depend upon an extraordinary vocation because the ordinary mission was in reality extinguished in the Roman church, in which there was nothing but a horrible disorder and confusion.' *Hist. Eccl.* p. 580.

But he explains himself more fully in a dispute he had with a Protestant writer, called Adrian Saravias, who, in a book written by him concerning the degrees of ministers of the gospel, maintained that particularly those of the first reformers, who had been ordained in the church of Rome, stood in no need of an extraordinary mission, but that the ordinary one they had received by virtue of their ordination sufficed; and as for others, he said, that every Christian, well instructed in the scripture, had both a power and obligation to reform all abuses and errors that were crept into the church.

This latter part of his opinion Beza refutes by telling him, that at that rate 'every man that has but a good opinion of his own learning will, under pretence of reforming the church, set up for a preacher of a new gospel, and form separate assemblies as Anabaptists and Libertines are wont to do; but God forbid (says he) that we should open a gate to such a pernicious licentiousness.' And so far he had most certainly truth on his side.

But he rejects the other part of Saravias's opinion with a great deal of heat. 'Pray (says he) what sort of ordinary vocation is that, which you attribute to all but a few of those who were raised by God? You cannot but mean a Papistical vocation, since it appears plainly enough from what you say, that if the bishops of France should now withdraw themselves and their churches from

the Pope's tyranny, and purge them of all idolatry and superstition, they would stand in no need of any other vocation than what they have already. What! can we imagine that Papistical ordinations, which are no better than an infamous commerce with the Romish harlot, and more polluted than the pay of prostitutes forbid by God to be offered in his Temple, which impowers some to corrupt the gospel instead of preaching it, and others only to offer sacrifice, which is a most horrible abomination: can we imagine, I say, that these wicked ordinations should stand good in such a manner, that as often as God gives the grace to any of these spurious bishops to come over to true Christianity, all the impurity of their ordination should be immediately purged away? But with what face or confidence will any one, whose heart God has touched, pretend to detest Popery without abjuring the irregular ordination he has received? or if he abjures it, how can he assume an authority to preach in virtue of it? I do not deny, indeed, that when such persons are found to be well instructed, edifying in their lives, and capable of feeding the flock, they may be re-ordained, and of spurious bishops rendered legitimate pastors.

It is plain then what Calvin and Beza thought of the mission of the first reformers; which is still more confirmed by the profession of faith required to be made by the Hugonots of France, in the composing whereof these two reforming apostles had the chief hand. The 31st article of it is thus worded: 'we believe that no man ought by his own authority to arrogate to himself the government of the church, but that it ought to be conferred by election as far as is possible and God will permit; which exception we add expressly, because it has been necessary sometimes, and even in our days (in which the state of the church was interrupted) that God should raise persons in an extraordinary manner to re-establish the church, fallen into ruin and desolation.'

This article contains three things. 1. The general rule. 2. The exception from this general rule. And 3. The application of this exception to the first reformers. The general rule is, that no man ought by his own authority to arrogate to himself the government of the church, but it ought to be conferred by election.—The exception is, that God permits sometimes that the observance of this rule is impracticable, and then he raises men in an extraordinary manner to supply the defect of an ordinary vocation. And the application of this exception to the first reformers is, that it has been necessary sometimes, and even in our days (in which the state of the church was interrupted) to raise persons in an extraordinary manner to re-establish the church, fallen into ruin and desolation.

Whence it is plain, that if the first reformers had exercised the ministry by virtue of an ordinary vocation, they would have been comprehended within the general rule, and not within the exception,

in supposing them to have been in such circumstances, that God did not permit the ordinary vocation to take place.

Conformably to this article the synod of Gap, held Ann. 1603, decreed, that it should be maintained in its full force, without insisting upon any ordinary vocation derived from the church of Rome. The decree of that synod was delivered in the following words. 'Concerning the 31st article of our profession of faith, the question being put, upon what foundation the authority our first pastors had of preaching and reforming the church was to be settled, whether it should be upon their mission derived from the church of Rome? the assembly resolved, that it should be wholly ascribed to an extraordinary vocation, whereby God moved them interiorly in an extraordinary manner, and not to the title they had still left of the corrupt mission of the church of Rome.'

And in the same profession of faith, Art. 28, they declare that 'they condemn all Popish assemblies, because the pure word of God is banished out of them, and the holy sacraments are corrupted, bastardized, falsified, or rather entirely annihilated, and all idolatry and superstition is practised in them; and that whoever follows their practices or communicates with them, cuts himself off from the mystical body of Jesus Christ.'

From all these proofs it is manifest, that I have not deviated from truth in attributing, both to Luther and Calvin, and many of their followers, the folly and extravagance of pretending to an extraordinary mission, or immediate vocation from God; but those who followed them some years after, finding it impossible to stand their ground against the force of the arguments urged by Catholic divines against this presumptuous and exorbitant pretension of their first reformers, were reduced to the necessity of taking up with an ordinary mission, and maintaining that their forefathers had no other.

But here again they are forced to run into disagreeing systems. Some of those who are for an ordinary mission, being convinced that in all ages it was continued by the succession of bishops, stand up for episcopal ordination, and maintain consequently that there can be no lawful ministry without it; and thus far they agree with the church of Rome. But then as to the exercise of episcopal or pastoral jurisdiction, some (as the Protestants of Sweden and Denmark) will have it depend upon the superior consistory; others, as Cranmer, on the prince's will and pleasure; and others assert again its independency on the civil power, which is the opinion of many in England, and these derive its source from the church of Rome.

But the Protestants of France, not believing episcopacy to be of divine institution, have taken up a system wholly different from these. The famous minister Claude, to prove the Protestant mission to be ordinary, thinks it sufficient to shew that their first pastors were established by the people, in whom he places the source

of authority and vocation ; and therefore in his defence of the reformation, p. 345, he maintains, that provided the people call a man to the ministry, and he gives his consent, this gives him a lawful mission without any other formality.

The minister Jurieu, in his answer to Mons. Nicol, *p.* 573, lays this for the foundation of his system, viz. That as every civil society has a natural right to choose its own officers or magistrates for the civil government, and make what laws it thinks most fitting for its preservation, so every church has no less a natural right (that is, independent of any divine institution) to choose its own guides and rulers, and make its own laws for the same end,

But this is putting the church of Christ upon the same footing with the secular state, without any regard to the difference there is between them both as to their first institution, and the end of it.— For (as I have already observed) all secular states are mere political societies formed by men, and tending to an end that is merely human, they are therefore subject to the will and pleasure of men, who may choose what rulers, and instal them by what just methods they think fit. But the church, as such, is a society, which has Christ himself for its immediate founder and lawgiver, and is therefore tied down to the laws his infinite wisdom has established for its government, and the continuation and conveyance of its ministry ; so that every national church, as it is a part of the church in general, and by consequence subject to such laws as regard the whole church, is bound to follow those laws.

The end of its establishment is likewise wholly spiritual, to wit, the salvation of souls ; which end cannot be attained but by the supernatural means of grace, nor grace but by the sacraments which Christ (who is the only master both of his grace, and of the way of conveying it to us) has instituted as so many channels for the conveyance of it to our souls ; and the administration whereof, together with the preaching of the holy word, he committed to his apostles and their successors, descending from them by a spiritual generation according to the methods established by him. And so Mr. Jurieu's fine parrallel between a national church and a nation-state is a mere empty flourish, fit only to impose upon the ignorant laity, whose vanity it agreeably flatters by making them the source of all authority both civil and ecclesiastic.

Thus we see the disagreement and confusion amongst Protestants, concerning a point of the greatest importance, and upon which the whole superstructure of the reformation depends, as upon a foundation without which it cannot possibly subsist. It has been fully shewed, 1. That nothing less than an extraordinary mission was claimed by the first reformers. 2. That though some of their followers endeavoured at first to support this extravagant pretension the greatest part have since rejected it as a defenceless cause, and stand up for an ordinary mission. And 3. That these advocates for an ordinary mission, are all at variance amongst themselves

about the manner of its conveyance, and put to the hardest shifts to patch it up as well as they can.

I shall therefore now proceed to prove, that the first reformers had no mission at all, either ordinary or extraordinary, but climbed up to the sheepfold by another way, like thieves and robbers. And if the first reformers had no mission, I am sure their successors in the sacred ministry can have none; because no man can transmit to another what he has not himself: nay we may as well say that a son can inherit a good estate of a father who has not a groat to leave him. So that if the very fathers of the reformation had not a lawful mission, it is an unconceivable riddle how their children should come by it, as it is inconceivable how the successors of the apostles should have had a lawful mission, if the apostles themselves had none. Whence I conclude, that if it be made manifest that the first reformers were wholly destitute of such a mission, it will likewise be fully proved that their successors are in the same unhappy condition; and that they who are members of any of the reformed churches founded by them, as they continue to be abettors of their sacrilegious usurpation of the holy ministry, can be regarded no otherwise than as persons, who are out of the true church of Christ, in which alone salvation can be attained.

ARTICLE III.

The first reformers had no extraordinary Mission.

Whenever it has pleased God to raise men in an extraordinary manner to be the guides of his people (as he raised Moses to lead them out of Egypt, and as he raised the apostles to preach the evangelical law to the whole world) he never failed to distinguish them by such uncontestable marks of their extraordinary mission, as were a solid motive to the people to form a rational judgment upon, that they were undoubtedly sent by God, and that he had bestowed those marks upon them as a declaration and testimony of his will, that they were bound to acknowledge them for their pastors, and suffer themselves to be guided by them. And this is so perfectly conformable to the usual methods of God's infinite wisdom and goodness, in providing means proper for their respective ends (especially in relation to things immediately appertaining to the salvation of souls, redeemed with the sacred blood of Jesus Christ) that without it the people guarded against the seduction of false guides, who might equally pretend to an immediate commission from God; and so every imposter might set up for an inspired man, and put his cheats upon the people, under the cover of this religious mask.

It is therefore necessary the people should have some sure marks to distinguish lawful pastors from seducers; but more especially when new doctrines are proposed to them, whereof there is but one example either recorded in the New Testament, or ever allowed of by the Catholic church, viz. the first preaching of the evangelical law, which doubtless was a new law and a new doctrine; and therefore the persons chosen immediately by God for this great work were clearly distinguished from imposters or seducers by three marks, to wit, holiness of life in a most eminent degree, holiness or purity of doctrine and the gift of miracles. These were the marks, by which the faithful were fully assured that the apostles had their commission from God; for nothing was more holy than their lives, nothing purer than their doctrine, and God declared himself to be the author of it, by giving them the power of working the most stupendous miracles in confirmation of it.

But I find nothing of these marks of an extraordinary vocation in any of the first reformers. For as to holiness of life, the very best amongst them were only so because they were not quite so bad as the rest, and their greatest admirers could never commend them either for austerity of life, or any one eminent virtuous quality that raised them above the ordinary level of mankind: nay, there was not one amongst them but was guilty of the deadly sin of calumny in a very high degree, in aspersing and misrepresenting the doctrine of their mother church, as the only means to give some colour to their apostacy.

But some of them were eminent for nothing but the viciousness of their lives; witness Martin Luther, the very patriarch of the reformation; who has left us in his own writings such monuments of his haughty, scurrilous, unmortified, nay even, vicious and impious disposition, that his greatest enemies could not paint him in blacker colours than he has done himself, as will appear more fully hereafter, when I come to speak of his doctrine.

Carlostadius, another head reformer, is a second instance of this truth. He was the first amongst the reforming priests who married publicly; and Melancthon, who was personally acquainted with him, gives him the character of an ignorant and brutal man, void of piety and humanity, and rather a Jew than a Christian; though of a crafty and turbulent nature. *Lib. Testim. Pref.* Most excellent qualifications to fit a man for a reformer of the church of Christ, called by God in an extraordinary manner.

I omit others to avoid prolixity, or appearing to take a pleasure in exposing the memory of persons, who have long since had their trial at the great tribunal. But I cannot forbear saying something of archbishop Cranmer, the first reformer of the church of England, and Burnet's chief hero in his unfaithful history of the English reformation. But with all his skill in daubing over and disguising historical facts, he cannot hinder an impartial reader from forming

this judgment of his hero;* viz. that if, instead of reforming his mother church, he had applied himself to reform the irregularities of his own life; it is probable England would not have become the theatre of those astonishing as well as scandalous disorders, publicly committed during the last thirteen years of king Henry's reign, whereof he was the chief author by his pernicious counsels, and base compliances with that prince. And yet this man, who had delivered up the ecclesiastical authority to prophane secular hands, sacrificed the patrimony of the church to the avarice of his prince, prostituted his conscience to all his disorderly lusts, played the hypocrite, and dissembled his religion for at least thirteen years together; this man, I say, was in the following reign, in quality of primate of England, the chief ecclesiastical tool of the court in promoting all the changes of religion then set on foot, which were varnished over with the plausible name of a *godly reformation*.—But is it then possible that God should be the author of a work, when such wicked men as these are the principal actors in it?—Does he usually employ such instruments as these to bring about his designs of an extraordinary mercy? If the thing be not absolutely impossible, it is at least without example: and I cannot but think it much more comfortable, both to reason and the usual ways of providence, to say, that when wicked men prosper in their designs, they are not instruments chosen by God in his mercy, but suffered by him in his anger, as scourges to punish the sins of the people.

It is plain, however, that the first reformers were wholly destitute of the first mark of an extraordinary vocation, to wit, holiness of life. Now then let us see whether they were distinguished from false guides by the second, to wit, holiness or purity of doctrine, which is wholly indispensable, because false doctrines can only have the father of lies for their author. It is true indeed that their boast at first, in order to impose upon the weakness and credulity of the people, was, that they would teach nothing but the pure word of God; but they fell very short of performing this noble promise, whereof I shall give some few remarkable instances.

First, the word of God teaches very plainly, that vows made to God are binding; “when thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it—that which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform;” *Deut.* xxiii. 21, 23. And St. Paul says of widows consecrated to God, that “when they have grown wanton in Christ, they will marry, having damnation to themselves, because they have cut off their first faith;” *1 Tim.* v. 11, 12. But the first reformers could not relish this holy doctrine, and made bold to give the word of God the lie by teaching publicly, that monastical vows did not oblige persons of either sex that had made them. According both pens and pulpits were employed to encourage the violation of them, and scriptural texts were taught

* See the Supplement in the End.

to speak a language agreeable to flesh and blood. But because example is usually more prevalent than words, Martin Luther, an Austin-friar, to the everlasting shame of the reformation, thought fit to confirm by his own practice the doctrine he had preached; and least the female sex should want an example of the same kind, he made choice of a nun for his bride, and so became guilty of a double sacrilege. Their example, how exorbitantly scandalous soever, was followed by many, who otherwise would never have thought of changing their state. And thus, apostate friars, priests and nuns, became the nursing fathers and mothers of the reformed churches, and the new gospel was propagated like mankind after the fall of Adam, not by a spiritual but carnal generation.

2dly, It is manifest from the word of God, that "the state of virginity is encouraged by Christ," *Matt.* xix. 11, 12. and recommended in express terms by St. Paul, *1 Cor.* vii. 7, 8. "I would (says he) that all men were even as myself—I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I." And again; "so then he that giveth his daughter in marriage doth well, but he that giveth her not doth better;" 38. Whence it follows by an undeniable consequence, that the state of perpetual virginity is possible by the help of God's grace; for otherwise it could not be lawfully recommended. But Martin Luther scrupled not to contradict the word of God, and maintain the absolute impossibility, nay, unlawfulness of it.

Let us hear his own words. 'God declares (says he) that he will have no man live unmarried, but to be multiplied—If any man resolves to continue unmarried, let him put off the name of man, and make it appear that he is an angel or spirit; for to man, God does not allow it by any means.' *Epist. ad Wolf. Tom.* 7. *Fol.* 505. 1.

Again, *Serm. de Matrim. Tom.* 5. *Fol.* 119. 1. he writes thus: 'increase and multiply is not a precept, but more than a precept, that is to say, a divine work—which is as necessary as to be a man, and more necessary than to eat, drink, sleep and wake—As it is not in my power not to be a man, so it is not in my choice to be without a woman, and again, as it is not in thy power not to be a woman, so it is not in thy choice to live without a man.

Nay, his extravagance went still farther; for although polygamy, that is, the plurality of wives or husbands, he positively condemned in the New Testament, he blushed not to teach the lawfulness of it, as will appear from the following pieces. 'What if one of the married couple (says he) should refuse to be reconciled to the other and would absolutely live separate, and the other not being able to contain should be forced to seek another consort, what must he do? may he contract with another? I answer that without doubt he may.' *In 1 Cor.* 7, *Tom.* 5. *Fol.* 3. 2.

'Put the case (says he) that one should fly from the other till there has been a third or fourth marriage, may the husband marry

another wife as often as his former leaves him, so as to have ten or more of these deserters still alive? Again, may the wife have ten or more husbands who are all fled? I answer that we cannot stop St. Paul's mouth, nor contend with such as think fit to make use of his doctrine as often as need requires. His words are plain, that a brother or sister are free from the law of marriage if the other departs, or will not consent to live with the other.' *Ibid. Fol. 112. 2.* It is fit (says he again) the husband should say, if thou wilt not, another will. If the mistress refuses let the maid come. But first he should a second and third time admonish his wife, and before others make known her obstinacy? that she may be publicly reprehended; if after that she refuses, divorce her and advance Esther in the place of Vashi.' *Ibid. Fol. 123. 1.* Strange doctrine for a man called by God in an extraordinary manner! Nay, does it not manifestly shew him to have been a most wicked imposter?

His doctrine concerning free will is no less contrary to the word of God, for he utterly denies it. 'Free will, (says he) after sin is no more than an empty name.' *Tom. 2. Fol. 3. 2.* And in his treatise *de servo arbitrio* he writes thus: 'man's will is in the nature of a horse. If God sits upon it, it tends and goes as God would have it go—If the devil rides it, it tends and goes as the devil would have it; nor can it choose which of the riders it will run to, or seek; but the riders themselves strive who shall gain or possess it,' *Tom. 2. Fol. 434. 2.* And again in the same treatise, *Fol. 460. 2.* 'If God foresaw (say he) that Judas would be a traitor, Judas of necessity became a traitor, neither was it in the power of Judas or of any other creature to do otherwise, or to change his will.' Thus wrote this great reformer, and he was followed in this impious doctrine by Calvin, who taught that grace necessitates the will, and that God is the author of all our sinful as well as virtuous actions; to which he added several extravagant errors of his own, which I omit for brevity's sake.

Lastly, it is an uncontestible truth, that doing penance for our sins is a duty commanded by the word of God. "Bring therefore forth fruits worthy of penance;" *Luke iii. 8.* which all the fathers have understood for penitential works to punish our sins. And again, "except you do penance you shall all perish;" *Luke xiii. 5.* It is likewise a truth taught us by the word of God, that the narrow way is the only way to Heaven, "enter ye in at the strait gate, (says Christ,) because strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life;" *Matt. vii. 13, 14.* Which he confirms thus; "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me;" *Luke ix. 23.* But if we examine the doctrine and methods of our new gossellers, we shall find them all busy in enlarging the way to Heaven, instead of recommending the narrow one marked out in the gospel.

The solemn fast of lent, of ember-days, and vigils, so venerable for their antiquity, were utterly abolished wherever Calvinism prevailed, and by degrees in all the reformed churches. Abstinence from flesh, on Fridays and Saturdays, was represented as a superstitious distinction of meats condemned by St. Paul. Penance was struck out of the number of sacraments. Doing penitential works to satisfy for our sins, was declaimed against as injurious to the infinite satisfaction of Christ. The austerity of monastical discipline, religious vows, and the single life of priests, were run down as an insupportable yoke imposed by the tyranny of Popes, and in consequence of this commodious doctrine, monks and friars were permitted to throw off their frocks, virgins their veils, and priests to exchange their breviaries for more diverting company: in a word, ecclesiastical authority was rendered precarious, and every man constituted judge of his own practice as well as faith.

Strange reformation! Is it then possible, that doctrines so favourable to all the inclinations of corrupt nature, should be inspired by the Holy Ghost? Or that the teachers of them were commissioned by God to publish them in his name? I leave every one to form what judgment he may think fit upon the matter. However let Protestants varnish things over as they please, they will find it a hard task to convince any man of common sense, that persons who were the authors of such scandalous relaxations in discipline and morality, had either the Holy Ghost for their guide, or the word of God for their rule. The reason hereof is plain, because the Spirit of God is unchangeable, and cannot lead different persons, whom he owns for lawful ministers under him, through ways directly opposite to one another, so as to empower some to preach one sort of gospel, and others another. Now I can scarce think any Protestant so unreasonable at present as to deny, that those great lights of the church in ancient times, viz. St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory, of Nazianzen, St. Jerom, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Austin, were all guided by the Spirit of God. But did any of these great men rail at religious vows, or the celibacy of priests? Did they exhort monks and virgins to quit their solitary cells and return to the world? Did they abolish the fast of Lent and other fasts still kept up in the church of Rome? Or were they declared enemies to confessing our sins and doing penance for them? Alas, we need but cast an eye upon their writings, or the history of their lives, to find that as they practised themselves all sorts of corporal austerities, so they constantly exhorted all the faithful under their conduct to do the same: they wrote whole volumes in praise of virginity, and persuaded as many as they could of both sexes to embrace that holy state: and yet it is certain, these great saints and pillars of the church were guided by the Spirit of God. And how then is it possible, that the same holy Spirit should in after times conduct men into a way as opposite to it as black is to white? This argu-

ment proves so convincingly, that the pretended reformation was not the work of God, that unless a man be resolved to bid defiance to the clearest truth, it is morally impossible not to yield to it.

But what is still a farther confirmation, that the hand of God had no part in this work, and that the authors of it undertook it without any commission from him, is, that there is no example, since the coming of Christ, of persons truly called by God to labour in his vineyard for the conversion of souls, either from infidelity to the Christian faith, or from sinful lives to repentance, but the generality of their first disciples or followers were remarkable for such solid piety, and true Christian zeal, that God Almighty seemed to take a pleasure in pouring forth a plentiful benediction of grace not only on the labourers themselves, but likewise on their spiritual children, whom they had begot in Jesus Christ through the gospel; and this was equivalent to an authentic declaration, that they were the instruments of his mercies, and served under his authority. But we find the very reverse of all this in the first disciples or followers of Luther, Calvin, and other pretended reformers.

Let us but compare their deluded proselytes with the true converts of the blessed apostles, and we shall see the truth of what I say in the clearest light. For whereas, nothing was more edifying than the lives of the first Christians converted by the apostles, nothing on the contrary was more disedifying than the lives of the first pretended converts from the church of Rome, made by the apostles of the reformation. We find them indeed very zealously busy in railing at the Pope and his bishops, in running down religious vows, breaking the images of Christ and his apostles, pulling down pictures, destroying abbeys, plundering churches, and other such great exploits; for all this sort of zeal either cost them nothing, or brought good money into their coffers; but it extended not to the demolishing of vice, or pulling down the idols of their sinful passions, such as luxury, avarice, intemperance, revenge, &c., all which escaped their religious zeal, and were not only left unreformed, but had the reins let loose to a greater licentiousness than ever was known before.

I doubt not but if Protestants shall happen to read this piece, they will immediately accuse me of slander; but let them have a little patience, and treat me as unmercifully as they please, if I do not produce witnesses above all exception to vouch for the truth of what I say, First then let us hear Erasmus, who was an eye-witness of what had happened, and writes thus in his letter against false gospellers.

‘ You declaim bitterly (says he) against the luxury of priests, the ambition of bishops, the tyranny of the Pope, the frothy stuff of sophists, the devotions of Catholics, their fasts and Masses; and you are not content to retrench the abuses that may be in these things, but will needs abolish them entirely, that is, you will

pluck up and destroy the good corn together with the tares. But what do you offer us better in exchange to make us quit our ancient practices? Consider the people who boast themselves to be of the evangelical profession, and observe whether there be not as much luxury, as much debauchery and avarice amongst them as amongst those they hate. Shew me one, whom your new gospel has changed from a drunkard to a sober man? Or one who having before been either quarrelsome, or revengeful, or covetous, or given to detraction or impurity, is become meek, liberal, affable or chaste? You will say there is always a mixture of good and bad in human things, and I ought to consider the good men that are amongst those of the evangelical profession. I must therefore be very unlucky; for hitherto I have not met with one, that is not become worse than he was before he embraced the new gospel.' Thus Erasmus, who was no violent or prejudiced man,

But let us hear Luther himself set forth the fruits of the reformation: 'we see (says he) that by the devil's malice men are at present more covetous, more cruel, more addicted to vice, more insolent, and far worse than they were under the Papacy.' *Sermone in Dom. I. Adv. Edit. Argent Fol. 5.* and Robenstock in his book entitled *Colloquia D. Lutheri, Tom. 1. p. 37.* recites his words as follows; 'Men are become so extravagant by the gospel we have preached to them, that they think every thing lawful that flatters their passions, and have lost all fear of hell-fire. There is but one peasant in the district of Wittemberg, who endeavours to instruct his family according to the word of God; all the rest go straight to the devil.'

Jacobus Andreas, in a sermon upon the 21st chapter of St. Luke, makes the same bitter complaint of the scandalous lives of their converts from Popery: 'to make it plain (says he) to all the world that they are not Papists, and place no confidence in good works, they take care to practice none; instead of fasting they spend their time in sotting and drinking; when they ought to relieve the poor, they fleece and oppress them; oaths, blasphemies and imprecations are their usual prayers; so that Jesus Christ is not now so blasphemed amongst the Turks as he is amongst them. In a word, instead of humility nothing reigns amongst them but haughtiness, arrogance, and pride, and this sort of life is called evangelical.'

Andreas Musculus, in a sermon upon the 4th Sunday of Advent, describes the disorders reigning amongst those of his party in the same pathetic manner. 'As to us Lutherans (says he) the matter stands thus: if any one has a mind to see a set of wicked men, drunkards, libertines, liars, cheats, and usurers, let him go to a town where the gospel is preached in its purity, and he will see as clearly as the sun may be seen at noon-day, that there is not so much insolence and wickedness practised amongst Turks and infidels, as amongst the evangelical people, where all the reins of the devil are let loose.'

Lastly, Calvin himself comes in for a witness of this truth: 'of the few (says he) that have separated themselves from the tyranny of the Pope, the greatest part are rotten at heart. They appear outwardly to be full of zeal, but if you search them to the bottom, you will find them to be full of hypocrisy and deceit.' *In Dan. C.* 11. v. 34. And amongst Calvin's letters there is one writ to Farel by Capiton, a minister of Strasbourg, where he says that God had rendered them sensible how much they had prejudiced souls by their precipitation in throwing off the Pope's authority. 'The multitude (says he) has entirely shaken off the yoke, being trained up to Libertinism; as if in pulling down the Pope's authority we intended to destroy the word of God the sacraments, and the whole ministry. They even have the impudence to tell us, I am sufficiently instructed in scriptures, I can read, and stand in no need of your direction.'

Thus God confounded the enemies of the Catholic church, by turning against them the principal argument they had made use of to render her odious to the people, to wit, the scandals, abuses, and irregularities committed by some corrupt members of that church, but always detested and opposed both by her public doctrine, and by all her sound and uncorrupted part, who made that doctrine the rule of their practice. Nay, the argument is retorted upon them with much greater force than it could ever be objected against the church of Rome; because it is no wonder that corruption in manners, abuses in practice, and relaxations in discipline, should in the course of many ages get into the church, notwithstanding the holiness of her doctrine, and severity of innumerable canons made to prevent them. For we need not seek for any other source of this evil than the general corruption of human nature, always inclined to liberty and ease, and always tending to it whatever restraints are laid upon it. But I defy the blackest malice to a tribute it to any principle or branch of doctrine authorised or acknowledged by the church of Rome. Whereas the general inundation of libertinism and vice (as it is attested by the forementioned authors, who saw it with their own eyes) in the very infancy of the most solemn reformation that ever was pretended to be made in God's church, cannot possibly be ascribed to any other cause than the pernicious doctrines of the authors of it; for in reality those very doctrines paved the way directly to it.

As for example, what other fruit than an utter contempt of religion could be expected from a reformation, established upon the ruins of broken vows, cemented by rapine, sacrilege, and plunder? Was not the impious doctrine of making God the author of sin, denying the liberty of man's will, and teaching the impossibility of keeping the commandments, was it not I say, sapping the very foundation of all Christian morality, and giving men a general licence to be as wicked as they pleased? For men cannot be obliged to impossibilities, and when they are once persuaded that

they cannot be virtuous, what can we hope better than to see them most impudently wicked? Again, abolishing the ancient holy-days and fasts, and *reforming* away the sacrament of Penance, could have no other effect than the introducing of Libertinism, and a general decay of piety and devotion.

I shall end with some reflections upon Capiton's complaint of the people's insolence towards their minister; for if he had not traced this evil to its true source, it might have opened his eyes to let him see, that the mischief he complains so bitterly of, was but the natural fruit of a tree of their own planting. The first reformers had set up the standard of rebellion against their mother church, and behaved themselves with the utmost insolence towards their lawful superiors; and could they after that have the weakness to imagine, the people would be more submissive and respectful to their upstart guides, than they themselves had been to the guides of God's own appointment, as Mr. Lesly justly styles them? Nay they had not only set them the example, but taught them their lesson of rebellion against the church, by settling it as a fundamental principal of the reformation, that scriptures, interpreted by the private spirit, are the only rule of faith; which in effect was making every body a judge of the faith, and putting the people upon a level with their guides in spiritual matters. What wonder is it then they should pretend to controul them, or even claim a right to reform the reformers? According to this celebrated saying of Tertullian, "what was lawful to Marcion, was likewise to the Marcionites."* For in like manner what was lawful to Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, &c. was no less lawful to their disciples, or any other whatsoever, to follow their private judgment in changing the faith.

It was thus the reformation became at length a mere Proteus, and changed its shape as often as a stage-player changes his dress. Luther began the farce, and expected all should at best be but actors under him, and dance to his pipe. But Carolostadius, Zuiniglius, and Calvin, took themselves to be as able reformers as Luther, and so thought fit to reform his reformation; nay, they all reformed their own reformations backward or forward just as the fancy took them. The church of England reformed not only her own mother church, but all the reformations that had got the start of her, and a new scene of reformation appeared in Great Britain as often as new reformers mounted the stage. The reformation of Henry the 8th was reformed by Edward the 6th, and his by queen Elizabeth; whose superior genius, not being fully satisfied with any thing that had been done before her, by the force of her own ingenuity fabricated a new religion of a kind of linsey-wolsey texture, made up of several fragments of Lutheranism and Calvinism, and some pieces of Popery to make a shew with. For which reason

* *Idem licuit Valentinianis quod Valentino, idem Marcionitis quod Marcionide arbitrio suo fidem innovare.* Lib. de Præscrip. C. 42.

the Presbyterians thought themselves bound in conscience to reform the reformation of queen Elizabeth; the Fanatics and Independents after that reformed the Presbyterians, and the Brownists and Quakers have reformed them all.

Here we see a complete Babel of jarring reformations, chopping and changing, building and destroying, doing and undoing, and all these changes, incoherencies, and contradictions flowing from a principle settled by the first reformers, and still maintained by the reformed churches, as is manifest from Mr. Lesly's case stated, p. 46. where he has these remarkable words; 'private judgment is all we have for the belief of a God and of Christ. In short, we must trust to it in every thing without exception.' Nay the doctrine of private judgment, in opposition to church authority, is so essentially necessary to support the whole building of the reformation, that whoever gives it up must at the same time give up the reformation itself. Now I ask, whether a principle, which is an inexhaustible source of confusion, incoherencies, heresies, and schisms, can be a doctrine according to the word of God? If it be, we must join issue with Calvin's blasphemy, in teaching that God is the author of sin. But I have now said enough to make it plain, that the two first marks of an extraordinary vocation, to wit, holiness of life, and purity of doctrine, were wholly wanting in the first reformers. Let us now see what is to be said concerning the third mark, viz. the gift of miracles.

ARTICLE IV.

No extraordinary Vocation without the gift of Miracles.

If the first reformers had a commission immediately from God, to reform the public faith and discipline of the church, it follows that they were vested with a power and jurisdiction not only of a larger extent than the ancient prophets ever had, but even fully equal to that of the apostles themselves. For,

First, It made them the source of a new ecclesiastical ministry; because the former, which Christ had established, remained no longer in force, as they pretended.

2dly, It gave them a power to establish articles of faith unknown for such to the whole world; to revoke the decrees of ancient councils, declare such doctrines orthodox as had been condemned by the universal church in former ages; pulled down the ancient form of church-government, and set up a new one in its place.

3dly, It gave them a jurisdiction over the whole Christian world, and full authority to plant their new gospel wherever Christianity was professed; because an extraordinary commission to reform the faith and discipline of the church regards one nation no less than another.

4thly, It gave them a power to suspend, depose, and excommunicate the whole body of bishops and pastors upon earth, if they refused to submit to their new gospel; nay, if their commission was really from God, all bishops deposed and excommunicated by them, were bound to regard themselves as validly deposed and excommunicated, and have recourse to their authority to be re-established in the exercise of their functions, even though they should have afterwards embraced the reformation.

Lastly, If they really had a commission immediately from God, to reform both the faith and discipline of the church, as soon as they had manifested themselves to the world, and published their reformation, all Christians upon earth, that is, the whole Greek and Latin church, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. were bound to renounce their former pastors, and submit to the new ministry established by them.

This was the real extent of the extraordinary commission pretended to by the first reformers; and it is manifest their pretension was at least as mad and extravagant in appearance, as that in another kind would be of a man, who should issue forth a proclamation that God had constituted him universal monarch of the world, with full power to depose all emperors, kings, and princes that should refuse to own his title. Now what judgment would the world make of a man laying claim to such an universal monarchy, as bestowed upon him immediately by God? Would any thing less be demanded of him than clear and uncontested miracles to prove his title, since without that proof it could not be made manifest either to sense or reason? And if he should refuse to yield to so reasonable a demand, would he not be treated either as a madman, or as a cheat and impostor? It cannot be questioned but he would; and it follows from it, that unless the first reformers had the gift of miracles bestowed upon them, we must form the same judgment of them, because their claiming an immediate commission from God, to reform both the faith and discipline of the church, that is, to degrade all her former bishops and pastors, reverse the decrees of her ancient councils, abolish her most solemn devotions, and make themselves the source of a new ministry and succession, was at least in all appearance an extravagance equal to the imaginary one. I have mentioned, and by consequence wholly unjustifiable without the testimony of miracles to support it.

The reason hereof is clear; because, in the case of such an extraordinary pretension as that of an immediate mission from God, no man can expect to be believed without extraordinary proofs, much less upon his own bare word; by reason of the important consequences of it, which is either the salvation or damnation of millions of souls. For the pretenders to such a mission, are either seducers or not; if they be, the people are bound to shun them; if not, they are bound to listen to their voice; because there is

certainly an indispensable obligation of obeying persons raised by God in an extraordinary manner ; for as he gives such persons an unquestionable authority to govern the people, so he lays by consequence an obligation on the people to submit to their government, the one being wholly inseparable from the other. The people must therefore have some rational grounds to judge by, that the pretenders to such an authority are really vested with it ; because it is impossible they should comply with the duty of obedience, without knowing the persons they are bound to obey. And how can this be known in the case of an extraordinary vocation, which of itself is not manifest either to man's sense or reason, unless the pretenders to it prove their immediate commission from God, by shewing his seal to it from the visible testimony of signs and wonders as the apostles did ? and even Christ himself, who declares in the gospel, that " if he had not done among the Jews the works which no man ever did, they would not have sin ;" *John xv. 24*, which amounts to a positive declaration, that miracles are a necessary proof of an extraordinary vocation.

This was most certainly the judgment of the ancient Fathers, who objected the want of miracles as a conclusive argument against the teachers of new doctrines, Has Novation (said St. Pacian) the gift of tongues or of prophecy ? Has he restored life to the dead ? For without some of these miraculous gifts he cannot claim a right to establish a new gospel. For the same reason Tertullian, requiring of Hermogenes and Nigidius an account of the authority they took, demanded at the same time miracles for a proof of their mission. *Volo & Virtutes eorum proferri*. Because, says he, when Christ sent his apostles to preach, he gave them the power of working the same miracles himself had wrought : *Lib. de Præscript C. 30*. And the same Tertullian observes, that no man coming as sent, or under the authority of another, ever pretended to be believed upon his own bare word, *nemo veniens ex alterius Auctoritate ipse eam sibi ex sua affirmatione defendit*.

Luther therefore may tell us, as often as he pleases, that he had his doctrine from Heaven, and received his ministry not of men nor by men, but by the gift of God and revelation of Jesus Christ. Calvin may likewise tell us, if he pleases, that the commission our Saviour gave him and his fellow-reformers was wholly extraordinary, and not to be examined by common rules. Theodorus Beza may bluster and swagger against the ordinary mission, and their synods and confessions of faith may stand up for the extraordinary vocation of their first reformers ; but unless they shew miracles to prove it, no man in his senses will believe them.

It will perhaps be asked, whether the gift of miracles be a sure mark of an extraordinary vocation, as well as a necessary proof of it ? I answer, it is not. Nay on the contrary, all the holy bishops and pastors, who, since the time of the apostles, have confirmed the truth of the faith they preached by uncontested miracles, never

had any other than what we call an ordinary mission ; that is, a mission received from the lawful successors of the apostles ; so that there is not an example since their time allowed of by the Catholic church, of any one person sent immediately by God to preach the word, and administer the sacraments. For that must, of necessity, have made a breach in the apostolical succession of the sacred ministry, contrary to the doctrine of all antiquity, as well as to the promises of Christ, that it should be continued in the church to the end of the world.

But do not we ourselves cry up many persons as raised by God in an extraordinary manner, such as St. Benedict, St. Bernard, and other founders of religious orders ? I answer, that if the meaning of it be that God, by a superabundant effusion of his holy grace, has been pleased from time to time, to render these and many other such persons proper instruments of his mercies for the conversion of sinners, and to repair the gradual decays of Christian morality (which is a reformation the church continually prays and labours for) nothing is more certain than that God many times raises men in this manner, for the service and edification of his church. But did any of these persons separate themselves from the communion of their mother church ? Did any of them set up altar against altar, church against church, or rebel against their lawful superiors, under pretence of an extraordinary vocation to the ministry ? On the contrary, they did every thing according to the canons of the church, and their mission was conveyed to them by the ordinary channel. Nay, they were the very patterns of humility, submission, and obedience to superior powers, and never made a step but as directed by them ; much less had they the presumption to think themselves wiser than the Catholic church, or assume an authority to reform her faith, which according to Tertullian is wholly irreformable. *Regula fidei una omnino est ; sola immobilis & irreformabilis ; C. 1. de Virgin, Velandis.* Because Christ has promised to his Church “the Spirit of Truth for her guide her ;” *John* xvi. 13. and “to abide with her to the end of the world ;” *Matt.* xxviii. 20. So that the reformation these holy men undertook regarded wholly the correction of manners. It was not their business to preach a new faith, but to exhort the people to live up to the sacred maxims of the faith they had received from their forefather ; and there is not a Christian in the world but is bound to contribute to this sort of reformation, if not by preaching, at least by practice and example. So that if Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and archbishop Cranmer, had laboured for a reformation of this kind, and proceeded in it according to rule and order, the whole world would have admired their zeal ; nor would any of them have stood in need of an extraordinary mission, but only of a greater stock of humility, mortification, obedience, and other virtues to qualify them for it ; and God, who, who can work miracles by what instruments he pleases, might perhaps have bestowed that

blessing on them, as he has done on many others, labouring in his holy vine-yard. Whereas these proud pretenders to an extraordinary vocation, were so far from being endowed with the gift of miracles, that Erasmus was wont to reproach them, that not one amongst them could ever so much as cure a lame horse; much less give sight to the blind, health to the sick, or life to the dead.

But was not the sudden and stupendous progress of the reformation a kind of miracle, and sure mark of the divine approbation of it? I answer, first, in Mr. Dryden's pithy expression, that "a downhill reformation rolls on very fast," I answer, secondly, that success is the most equivocal mark that possibly can be of the divine approbation of any undertaking; for if it were a solid proof it, every successful and prosperous wickedness would have the divine approbation to justify it. The famous rebellion in forty-two was prosperous in all its undertakings; yet I hope no good subject will say that God approved of it. The progress of Mahometanism is without example and will any Christian say it is a religion approved by God? Again, the progress of Arianism was so prodigious, that there were sometimes assemblies of above three hundred Arian bishops at once; it was supported by Christian emperors and kings; the most zealous champions of the Catholic faith were either murdered, or imprisoned, or sent into banishment. In a word, the Christian world was astonished at the general inundation of it.— And yet I never heard any Christian call this a miraculous event, or insist upon it as a mark of God's approbation of it.

Yet there is a peculiar circumstance, which renders this progress of Arianism still more astonishing, to wit, that it was a mere speculative heresy, and no ways flattering men's passions or proneness to libertinism; for it neither dispensed with fasting, nor religious vows, nor confession of sins, nor doing penance for them, but kept up all the rigour of ecclesiastical discipline: whereas the reformation had the most powerful attractives to draw into its interest all persons of a worldly, sensual, and carnal disposition, of which there are always great numbers in the church. Princes and other men of figure were charmed with the alluring prospect of enriching themselves with the plunder of the church's patrimony. Priests, friars, monks, and nuns, were prevailed upon by the temptation of exchanging their confinement, austerities, and breviaries, for the worldly pleasures of liberty and ease, and the more agreeable company of wives and husbands; and the common people could not but be very well content to be rid of so many troublesome fasts, and the importunate exhortations and reprimands of their confessors.— So that the great and sudden progress of a reformation, so agreeable to all the inclinations of corrupt nature, and wherein all sorts of passions found their account, is so far from having the appearance of a miracle, that we may rather call it a miracle of God's grace that it stopped where it did, and look upon the preservation of his church, from such a powerful and dangerous contagion, as a

most remarkable instance of the indefeasibleness of his promise, that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against her."

I conclude from what has been said, that Luther and Calvin, the two principal reformers, were two rank cheats and imposters; because whoever sets up for an inspired man, and pretends to an extraordinary commission from God to reform his church, deserves no better name, if he cannot make good his title, and is even convicted of falsehood.

Those of the church of England will say, what have we to do with Luther and Calvin? For we are neither Lutherans, nor Calvinists, but have a reformed church of our own, which by its worthy members is justly called the best church in the world. I confess I have often been surprised at this expression, because the Nicene Creed allowed of by that church tells us, that there is but One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic church. St. Paul says likewise, that there is but one faith; and to be sure the creed speaks of the true church, and St. Paul of the true faith, and by consequence but one true religion. This being so, I cannot well conceive how either the church of England, or any other, should be the best church in the world; for that implies a comparison, and supposes that there are several very good churches, faiths, and religions in the world, but like trades, houses, or families, some better than others. A strange absurdity! contrary to scripture, and unknown to all antiquity, which never admitted but of one church and communion of all the faithful throughout the whole world, united in the profession of one and the same true faith.

But let that be as it will, if the church of England be the best church in the world, one necessary condition to make her so is to profess the best faith in the world. Now then I desire some worthy member of this church to answer me this short question, to wit, whether Luther and Calvin were cheats or not? If he denies it, he must give himself the trouble to confute both this and the two preceding articles, which I conceive will be a hard task to perform; because in the second article he will find it fully proved, both from her own words and other authentic testimonies, that they effectually set up for inspired men, and challenged to themselves an immediate commission from God. And he will find it in this and the preceding article, that they were wholly destitute of all the marks of such a mission; demonstrated nay, over and above, that some of their doctrines were so exorbitantly scandalous, that it would be blasphemy to attribute them to any other than the father of lies.

But if the advocates for the church of England be convinced, by the force of these arguments, (as I hope every reasonable man will be) that Luther and Calvin were rank imposters, then they do not act rationally, unless they have an entire diffidence of all the changes they made both in the public faith and discipline of the church, and suspect the new doctrines they broached to have been

the fruit, not of a sincere conviction of judgment, but either of their violent hatred to the Pope and their mother church, or of some other criminal passion ; for it is certain there is no sort of wickedness, which an avowed impostor is not capable of. But ought not those then of the church of England, at the same time, to suspect the truth of all the doctrines they have espoused after the examples of such notorious seducers ? Would they think it safe to drink the waters of a poisoned source, or eat a fruit growing from a poisonous root ? No, surely. They ought therefore to have at least a diffidence of, and suspect all the doctrines, wherein they differ from the church of Rome, because they all flowed from a poisonous source. Two rank imposters were the primary authors of them, in opposition to the whole visible church then upon earth, and this alone is sufficient for any rational man to reject them. Neither will it any ways avail the advocates of the church of England to say, they are neither Lutherans nor Calvinists ; for it is not the name, but doctrine, that makes men disciples of this or that sect ; and they will in spite of their hearts be the true disciples of two notorious seducers, as long as they sympathize with them in all the doctrines wherein they differ from their mother church, though they follow them not in those that are grossly scandalous. I shall now proceed to prove, that the first reformers had not even an ordinary mission.

ARTICLE V.

The first reformers had no ordinary Mission.

It appears manifestly from what has been said, and even from plain fact, that the first reformers took upon them to change the whole face of religion, both as to faith, government and discipline. The Pope was stript of all his authority, both as patriarch of the West, and head of the Catholic church. The real presence of the sacred body and blood of Christ in the blessed sacrament, believed by the whole Christian world both East and West, was transformed into a mere figurative presence. The holy sacrifice of the Mass, offered from East to West, according to the prophecy of Malachy, was rendered execrable and odious, as much as in them lay. The invocation of saints, and the relative honour paid to their pictures, images, and relics, though practised by all the most eminent lights and saints of antiquity, was run down for rank idolatry. The sacraments instituted by Christ were reduced from seven to two.—The solemn ceremonies of baptism, more ancient than the first Nicene Council, were abolished. The rule of faith, which till then was the word of God delivered to us, either in the canonical books, or by apostolical tradition, was changed into that of scriptures in-

terpreted by the private spirit. In a word, the solemn fasts of Lent, Ember days, and Vigils, religious vows, confession, and doing penance for our sins, were utterly reformed away.

I confess when I barely consider the extraordinary nature of such an undertaking, and the prodigious extent and consequences of it, I cannot wonder the first reformers should form a judgment, that nothing but an extraordinary commission from God could justify it in any manner, how extravagant soever their pretensions to it was. For what power upon earth could give a commission to any set of men, to subvert in this manner a religion, which had at that time the prescription of nearly fifteen hundred years, as shall be proved hereafter? The thing is wholly inconceivable in itself, unless we can imagine, with any colour of reason, that the whole church of Christ had been utterly blind, void of all piety and zeal, and under a continual dotage for so many ages together; and was cured all on a sudden of this blindness, lethargy, and dotage, by the voice of these powerful charmers, so as to give them a *Carte Blanche* to act just as they pleased.

It is certain, however, that both Luther, Calvin, Theodorus Beza, and others were of opinion, that nothing less than an extraordinary vocation could serve their turn; and this shews manifestly, that they knew nothing of the ordinary one, which their ingenious successors have since invented for them, which I think is a good proof that they had no ordinary mission; because it was but congruous to common sense to judge, that if they had had it, they would have known it, and accordingly insisted upon it.

Let us then examine the reasons why they judged themselves safest under the shelter of an extraordinary mission. The first was, because they had separated themselves from the communion of the whole Christian world, so that there was not a visible society of Christians upon earth into which they could incorporate themselves, as will appear more fully hereafter. From what source then, or through what channel could the ordinary mission be conveyed to them? Can waters have their ordinary course when the pipes and conduits, through which they used to pass, are stopped or broken? In reality they might as well have looked for an ordinary mission from the world in the moon, as from any Christian society upon earth.

Another strong reason against the ordinary mission of the first reformers, which they could not but be sensible of, was, because it appears manifestly from the practice of all antiquity, that there never was any ordinary mission acknowledged by God's church, but was derived by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, and conveyed down from age to age, and from person to person by the bishops, who were their undoubted successors. And this truth is supported by such a constant and universal tradition (as has been shewn in the first article) that no man of any sincerity can doubt but it has its source from the apostles themselves. Now all the

bishops, at least of the western churches, were true sons of the Roman Catholic church and zealous defenders of her faith, when Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, &c. first set up for reformers. And can it enter into the imaginations of any man of common sense, that ever any of these bishops would, or that the fore-mentioned reformers thought they would, give them a commission not only to subvert the whole frame of ecclesiastical government established by that church, but even to set up new churches, faiths, and religions, in opposition to her? Truly, it may as easily be believed, that a king shall give a commission to a band of ruffians to come and cut his throat.

Here then I shall ask them in Tertullian's words, *qui estis vos? quando & unde venistis?* Who were these reformers? Whence did they come? Who gave them a commission to pull down their mother church, and turn her faith and discipline out of doors?—Were they the people or secular princes, who gave them this authority? Alas! how can the laity, who have no ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction themselves, give it to others? Nay, they may as well pretend to give them the power to fly, or to give health to the sick, sight to the blind, and life to the dead. Or did they receive it from the Greek church, or from any of the other churches of the East? All these were utter strangers to them in the beginning of the reformation, and since they have been informed of their proceedings, have disowned them as a spurious race, and openly declared against their doctrines; as is demonstrated from incontestible records in Mr. Arnauld's *Prepetuite de la Foi* to the everlasting confusion of the French Hugonot ministers, who were so indiscreet as to provoke him to it.

Lastly, will they pretend to have received their power and jurisdiction from the church of Rome? If so, I must repeat in short what I said just now, viz. that no man in his senses will believe the church of Rome ever gave a commission to any man to destroy herself; so that the consequence of all is, that they had their commission from their own dear selves; as thieves and robbers have, who plunder and murder upon the high way, according to our Saviour's character of false guides, *John* x. 10.

But I must here observe over and above, that the advocates for the ordinary Protestant mission from the church of Rome, do hereby fairly acknowledge her authority to give a lawful mission: the immediate consequence whereof is, that they must likewise acknowledge her to have been the true church of Christ at the very time when they formed their schism against her; because a false church cannot give a lawful mission to preace the word and administer the sacraments; and so by another undeniable consequence, they apostatized from the true church of Christ, acknowledged for such by themselves.

It follows again, that as they are bound to acknowledge her authority to give a lawful mission, so they must likewise own she had

a power to suspend, interdict, and excommunicate such members as set up the standard of rebellion against her; for the one is wholly inseparable from the other. But this spoils all, and utterly destroys the pretended ordinary mission of the first reformed churches from the church of Rome; because the first authors of the reformation were effectually excommunicated by her, and persons excommunicated have neither themselves the power of exercising their ministry, nor by consequence of conveying it to others. For no man can give that power to others, which he has not himself.

This will fully answer the question chiefly insisted upon by those, who justly stand up for the divine institution of episcopacy, viz. whether those amongst the reformers, who had been validly ordained by the church of Rome, had not a power by virtue of their ordination to preach the word and administer the sacraments? For I answer first, that excommunication deprived them of all power of exercising their respective functions. I answer 2dly, that their power of preaching the word could go no farther than as it had a conformity to the doctrine of the church that gave them their orders; for I take it to be a certain truth, that they had no power given them to cut the throat of their own church; as Dr. Whiston and others ordained by the church of England, had no power, by virtue of their ordination, to teach doctrines condemned by that church; and as the Arian and Donatist bishops, who had been validly ordained by the Catholic church, had no power, by virtue of their ordination, to preach their impious doctrines; nay, we may as well maintain that the commander of a party, who has a commission to attack the enemy wherever he meets them, has a power given him to burn, pillage, and destroy both friends and foes, which is most highly ridiculous; because exceeding a commission is as unwarrantable as acting contrary to it.

But has not every pastor a power, nay obligation, to reform errors and abuses crept into the church? I answer, that if we may depend securely upon the promises of Christ, the Catholic church will never be guilty of any errors against the faith, and therefore will never stand in need of being reformed by any of her pastors. So that my direct answer to the question is, that it implies no less a false supposition, than if it should be asked, whether every pastor has not a power, nay obligation, to reform errors taught by the apostles?

But as to abuses in practice, every pastor is bound to do his best to reform them, provided they be real ones; but he ought to be very well assured that they are so, before he undertakes to correct them. For if every private pastor had an authority to reform merely supposed or imaginary abuses, endless divisions and schisms would be the unavoidable consequences of it. In effect this was the sole occasion of the ancient schisms of the Donatists and Novatians, and that of the Anabaptists in our latter days. The Donatists pretended, that the allowing of the validity of baptism confer-

red by heretics was an abuse. The Novatians cried out against the pretended abuse of admitting those to penance who had fallen in the persecutions; and the Anabaptists clamour with the same violence against infant baptism as an abuse against the plain word of God. But because the Catholic church never regarded these practices as abuses, but on the contrary as a discipline supported by apostolical tradition, it was unlawful for any of her pastors to take upon them the power to reform them of their own heads.

Suppose a bishop or parson of the church of England should, of his own head, undertake to abolish the sign of the cross in the administration of baptism, the ceremonies of ordination, of blessing churches, and other such practices still retained in their church, under pretence of reforming abuses as smelling too rank of Popery, I ask whether that plea would be admitted? I rather believe such a pretended reformer would be very warmly opposed by his fellow bishops or parsons, who in this case would be clearsighted enough to perceive a difference between real and imaginary abuses: and I heartily wish it may open their eyes to let them see, that the fiery zeal of the first reformers against every thing they were pleased to call abuses (as monastical vows, the celibacy of priests, the invocation of saints, honouring their relics, images, or pictures, and praying for the souls departed) was not a zeal, according to knowledge, but a cloak to cover the irregularity of their unwarrantable and uncanonical proceedings.

But I shall now proceed to another sort of argument to prove, that the first reformers, whether ordained, or not ordained by the church of Rome, could not possibly have a lawful mission from her; and this I shall prove from their own writings; as likewise from the writings of the true sons of the episcopal church of England, who have thereby given a mortal stab to their own church.

ARTICLE VI.

Protestants convicted from their own writings, that they have no lawful mission from the church of Rome.

The principle I go upon is this, viz. that an heretical, idolatrous, and antichristian church, has no power or authority to preach the word or administer the sacraments; because this power belongs wholly and solely to the true church of Christ; and an heretical, idolatrous, and antichristian church, cannot be the true church of Christ. If then it will appear that the church of Rome has been constantly represented as an heretical, idolatrous, and antichristian church, both by the first reformers and their successors, it will plainly follow from their own doctrine and writings, that none of the reformed churches can possibly have a lawful mission from her, be-

cause she has no lawful ministry herself, if she be the monster described in those noble epithets.

First then let us see how the church of Rome was set forth by the first reformers. Luther declares indeed, in his book *de abroganda Missa*, that he had at first no small difficulty to work himself into a belief that the Pope was Antichrist, his bishops the devil's apostles, and the Catholic universities his stews; but with the help of some powerful medicines, as he speaks himself, this hard morsel went down at last: And after that the Pope was the very Antichrist foretold in the revelations, the church of Rome was the scarlet whore, her synods the synagogues of Satan, and her bishops the devil's apostles. Nay, in a book he wrote against the Pope's bull, instead of calling him Pope or bishop of Rome, he styles him Antichrist in the very title prefixed to it thus, *against the execrable bull of Antichrist*; which shews that amongst the Lutherans he was very well known by that name.

Calvin explained in express terms, that the bishops of Rome were not true pastors, but the most cruel butchers of souls, *Instit. L. 4. C. 10.* and in the same treatise, *L. 4. C. 2 §. 2.* he tells his reader that 'in the church of Rome, instead of the Lord's Supper a horrible sacrilege is substituted in its place: that the worship of God is entirely disfigured by a heap of superstitions; that the essential doctrine of Christianity, without which it cannot subsist, is either buried or utterly destroyed; that her public assemblies are schools of idolatry and impiety; and that no man ought to be afraid of separating himself from the church, by avoiding to be an accomplice in her crimes.' In his letter to the king of Poland he declares positively, that her ministry was interrupted; and in his method of reforming the church, that 'she was fallen into utter ruin.'

Theodorus Beza, his faithful disciple, told the Cardinal of Lorraine, that they had renounced the Papistical ordinations as the mark of the beast; as he likewise told Saravia that 'they were no better than an infamous commerce with the Romish harlot, and more polluted than the pay of prostitutes forbid by God to be offered in the temple.'

The 31st article of their profession of faith declares, that 'the church was fallen into utter ruins and desolation.' And the 28th article condemns all Popish assemblies, 'because the pure word of God was banished out of them, and the holy sacraments were corrupted, bastardized, satisfied, or rather entirely annihilated.— That all idolatry and superstition was practised in them, and that whoever followed their practices, or communicated with them, cut himself off from the mystical body of Jesus Christ.'

From these principles they argued very consequently, and inferred that they could not possibly receive a lawful mission from the church of Rome; but that the safest course they could take was to insist upon an immediate and extraordinary vocation from

God. And truly if the premises were true, the consequence would be undeniable.

But have those of the episcopal church of England been more moderate in their writings? I leave the reader to judge whether they have or not.

Perkins, in his *Eposition of the Creed*, p. 400, writes thus, 'We say that before the days of Luther, for the space of many hundred years, an universal apostacy, overspread the whole face of the earth.'

The *Book of Homilies*, ordered by the 35th article of religion to be read in churches, as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine, in the *Homily* against the peril of idolatry, *part 3*, London, 1687, p. 251, has these remarkable words: 'Laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom, have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, and that for the space of eight hundred years and more.'

Mr. Napier (of whom more hereafter) in his book upon the Revelations, *Prop. 37*, p. 68, writes thus; 'From the year of Christ, 316, the antichristian and Papistical reign has begun,' &c.

Dr. Beard, in his book entitled *Antichrist the Pope of Rome*, tells his reader, 'that the Pope has set up a new God, namely, a piece of bread in the Mass ——— that he exalts himself above all that is God, nay, above God himself.'

Mr. Sutcliff, in his survey of Popery, writes, 'that Popery as a sink has, together with heresies, received into itself most gross and heathenish idolatry——that it is nothing else but a pack of old and new heresies——that the Romish church consists of a pack of infidels——that the Pope is antichrist——that the Popish church has no true bishops or priests——and finally, that Popery, in many points, is more abominable than the doctrine of Mahomet.'

Stillingfleet, a doctor and bishop of the church of England, has written a large volume to prove Roman Catholics idolators; and Mr. Lesly, in his *Case stated*, following Stillingfleet's system, has employed about thirty pages to prove us as rank idolators as heathens ever were.

Lastly, a scurrilous libel, entitled, *a Protestant's Resolution, shewing his Reasons why he will not be a Papist*, written by way of questions and answers, in the form of a Catechism, reprinted several times a few years ago, and industriously dispersed throughout the kingdom, has the following question and answer, p. 10.

Q. What was there in the Romish religion, that occasioned Protestants to separate themselves from it?

A. In that it was a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind, blasphemous religion.

This indeed is outrageous in the highest degree, and more becoming the brutality of a savage, than one that sets up for a guide

and teacher of Christians. I omit innumerable others to save myself the trouble of transcribing volumes, and appeal to the generality of Protestant laity, whether the idea of Popery, being a religion full of gross errors, superstitions, and idolatry, has not been familiar to them from their very childhood: and since such notions are not born with us, they must have been instilled into them by their teachers? I pray God to convert their hearts, and forgive them the guilt of so grievous a sin.

It is however plain and undeniable, that the generality of Protestants have, in a manner, conspired together, to give this foul character of the church of Rome; and so they stand convicted by their own doctrine and writings, that they cannot, without the greatest incoherency and even absurdity, pretend to derive a lawful ministry from that church, for the reason I have already often repeated, viz. because an heretical or idolatrous church has herself no lawful ministry, and therefore cannot communicate it to others. Nay, though a person had a lawful mission before, he would forfeit it by communicating with such a church; because whoever communicates in sacraments or worship with heretics, schismatics, or idolaters, becomes guilty of their heresy, schism, or idolatry, and is thereby rendered incapable of exercising his functions lawfully.—And this alone is a convincing proof, that neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Zuinglius, Carlostadius, nor bishop Cranmer, nor any of the first reformers could possibly have a lawful ordinary mission, according to their own doctrine, wherein they have represented the church of Rome as an heretical and idolatrous church; because they had all communicated with her for many years in all her sacraments and worship.

Now then I leave Protestants to consider seriously, from whence they have their ministry or mission? By their blind zeal against Popery, and violent hatred to the church of Rome, they have effectually stopped up that channel against themselves, through which alone it has passed for fifteen hundred years before the reformation; and when they separated themselves from that church, as they never incorporated themselves into any other society of Christians, so have they been from the very beginning, and continues still to be a separate body and communion from all other Christian churches, as well as from the church of Rome; and so they could not have received their mission from any of these. Neither could they have received it from the people or secular magistrates, because they have no ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction themselves. How then do they come by it? It certainly behoves them to give a satisfactory answer to this question; because the salvation or damnation of millions of souls depends upon it.

Some will perhaps say, that though the church of Rome be painted in very black colours by a great number of Protestant teachers, yet the more moderate part pretended not that she has lost the faith, but only obscured it: that the foundation remains

good, but she has built a great deal of stubble and straw upon it; that therefore she has always had a lawful ministry, and by consequence a power to communicate it to others. But these are all empty words, and serve for nothing else but to throw a mist before the people's eyes. I shall therefore propose two dilemmas to clear the whole matter.

First, either the church of Rome is a superstitious and idolatrous church, or not. If she be, she has no lawful ministry, nor by consequence a power to communicate it to others? If not, what opinion must all rational men have, not only of the first reformers, but of the generality of Protestant teachers? Must they not regard them as men void of honour and conscience, as seducers, impostors, and the foulest calumniators, that ever were upon the face of the earth? Nay must they not think their leaders, who still promote or countenance this unchristian calumny, to be utterly destitute of all hopes of salvation, unless they make some public reparation of honour to their church, which both they and their forefathers have slandered in such a notorious manner? I think the matter is beyond all question, according to this received maxim of Christian morality, that the sin of injustice is incapable of pardon, if restitution be not made.

Again, either the church of Rome is an heretical church, or not? If she be, it follows again, that she has no lawful ministry, nor a power to transmit it to others? If not, there follows a train of the most destructive consequences to all the reformed churches? For if she be not an heretical church, then her whole faith is orthodox? and it follows that the Pope's supremacy, church's infallibility, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, the lawfulness of communion in one kind, of invoking the saints and honouring their relics, images, and pictures, and many more articles denied by the reformed churches, are all articles of revealed faith, because they are all proposed as such by the church of Rome, and if any of them were not revealed truths, she would be manifestly guilty of heresy? because to add to the revealed word of God is as much heresy as to detract from it; that is to say in plainer terms, whatever church declares that to be an article of revealed faith, which really is not so, is no less an heretical church, than that which denies articles of faith revealed by God.

Well then, supposing the church of Rome not to be an heretical church, it follows, 1. That she is the true church of Christ. 2. That all the reformed churches have separated themselves from the true church of Christ. 3. That in so doing they are all schismatical churches. 4. That they are likewise heretical churches, in denying the forementioned articles proposed by her as revealed truths. And 5. That being heretical churches they are incapable of having any lawful ministry; because no man, or society of men, ever had a lawful power to preach heresy. This I call a train of consequences destructive to all the reformed churches, if the church of

Rome be not a heretical church ; and if she be one, they can have no lawful mission from her ; and so they are hemmed in betwixt the two horns of this dilemma, one of which must give then a mortal wound, let them turn themselves what way they please.

But it may perhaps be asked, whether if the whole church of Christ should fall into heresy or idolatry, there would be no possibility, in that case, of a lawful ministry or ordinary mission ? I answer first, that the case is impossible ; because Christ has positively promised his church, “ that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her ;” *Matt.* xvi. 18. And, “ that he will be with her unto the end of the world ;” *Matt.* xxviii. 20.

I answer 2dly, that if it were possible for the whole church to apostatize, the ecclesiastical ministry or mission, as established upon the footing it now is, would cease of course in that case, and an extraordinary vocation would then be absolutely requisite to authorize persons to establish a new ministry, in case it should please God to form a new church : which was the very principle the first reformers went upon, when they claimed an extraordinary vocation ; and they argued very justly, as I observed before, if it had been true what they pretended, that the whole church was fallen into heresy and idolatry.

There remains now but one popular argument to be answered, viz. that it was not the business of the reformation to preach a new faith, or set up a new church, but only to bring the Christian religion back to its ancient purity, which surely any minister of the gospel may lawfully do. Thousands of the laity, who know nothing of ecclesiastical history, and swallow down, without examination, whatever their guides teach them, have been and are still seduced by the plausible appearance of this argument. For nothing is more certain than that the most ancient Christian religion is that which was taught by Christ and his apostles, and the religion they taught is most certainly the only true one. When therefore the people are confidently told by their ministers, that Protestantism is the ancient religion, and believe it upon their word, there they stick fully satisfied, without enquiring any farther, whether it be really so or not ? whether their ministers can prove it as easily as say it ? or whether their averring it be a safe bottom to hazard their souls upon ? Whereas if they made these inquiries with sincerity in a concern of this importance, they would soon discover their state to be the same, as that of persons under the delusion of a pleasing dream. And indeed as long as they continue under this delusive dream, of having antiquity and the primitive ages on their side, all endeavours to convince them of this or that particular truth, is but labour lost, like speeches made to persons in a profound sleep.

For which reason I refer the reader to the book, entitled the “ Shortest Way to end Disputes about Religion,” first part, chapter fourth and fifth, where it is made plain, that the doctrine, commonly known by the odious name of Popery, was the doctrine of the Catholic church in the primitive ages, and by consequence of the apostles themselves.

THE SUPPLEMENT OF ARTICLE III. p. 156.

Whoever reads the bad character I have given of archbishop Cranmer, Art. 3. p. 156. and compares it with the high eulogiums given of him by Dr. Burnet, in his *History of the English Reformation* (particularly *part 1. L. 2. p. 127, 128.* where he sets forth his candour, disinterestedness, humility and repugnance to accept of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and *part 2. L. 2. p. 335.* where he represents him as a most holy saint and martyr) whoever, I say, compares my character of him with the eulogiums heaped upon him in that history, must of necessity judge, that either Dr. Burnet is a mere romancer, or that I am a foul calumniator in having blasted the memory of such a worthy prelate. It behoves me therefore to write something in vindication of what I have said of him, being convinced in conscience, that I have advanced nothing but the naked truth: and it is no small advantage to me, that the doctor himself has furnished me with arms to defend myself with. For though he never had the fame of a man of the nicest truth in his generation, even among those of his own party, I may lawfully take all the advantage I can of his testimony, when it makes against himself, and favours my cause.

Now I find, that amidst the many panegyrics bestowed upon the doctor's holy saint and martyr, he has unwarily let slip from his pen certain facts relating to that prelate, which I think will utterly spoil his canonization; nay, I find him clearly convicted from them of four enormous crimes, viz. first, of incontinence; 2dly, of high treason; 3dly, of hypocrisy and dissimulation in religion; and 4thly, of perjury.

1. As to the charge of incontinence, it is set down as a part of his indictment at his trial, being there accused, that though he were both priest and archbishop, he had, contrary to the ancient, known, and standing laws of the church, been twice married, kept his wife secretly in king Henry's time, and openly in king Edward's reign. To all which he pleaded guilty; and only answered, that he thought it was lawful for all men to marry; *part 2. L. 2 p. 332.* But with his good leave, what he varnished over with the plausible name of marriage was a sacrilegious whoredom in a *holy archbishop*, (if the church has any legislative power) and had been always looked upon as such for many ages.

2. Archbishop Cranmer's guilt of high treason against his lawful sovereign queen Mary, is acknowledged not only by Dr. Burnet, ^sbut all historians. The Doctor writes thus of it:

'An answer was written to queen Mary, signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, &c. letting her know that queen Jane was now their sovereign——That the marriage between her father and mother was dissolved, and she had been declared illegitimated and uninheritable to the crown. They therefore required her to give over her pretences, and not disturb the government; and promised her, if she shewed herself obedient, she should find

them all ready to do her any service which in duty they could.' *Part 2. L. 2. p. 335.*

Again he writes thus, *ibid. p. 257.* 'On the 3d of November, archbishop Cranmer, lord Gilford Dudley, &c. were brought to their trial. These all confessed their indictments. Cranmer submitted himself to the queen's mercy, &c. He was therefore guilty of high treason by his own confession.'

3. His hypocrisy and dissimulation in religion, during the whole reign of king Henry, is a point of history so notoriously known, that doctor Burnet must have had a face of brass to write of him as he does, *part 2. L. 2. p. 335.* 'That he was a man of great candour, who never dissembled his opinion:' unless a man's being a Lutheran in his heart, and a Papist in his outward practice, and that for many years together be no dissimulation. For it is an uncontested fact, that, 'till the death of Henry VIII. he conformed entirely to the manner of public worship used in the church of Rome; said Mass, and prayed for the souls departed as other priests; performed all episcopal functions as other Catholic bishops did; professed and preached the Roman Catholic faith like others, and, in a word, appeared a zealous Catholic in all his words and actions; and it behoved him highly so to do; for his life was at stake, if he had done otherwise; since all the world knows how inexorable Henry VIII. was upon the point of religion. But was Cranmer's belief in all this time of a piece with his practice, or his heart conformable to his actions? If not, Dr. Burnet is a shameful falsifier of history, and his *holy saint* and *martyr* stands justly branded with the infamous character of an hypocrite and dissembler of religion.

Now I shall endeavour to shew, that his having been insincere in the religion he professed during the whole reign of Henry VIII. is not only highly probable from undeniable circumstances, but morally certain from positive facts related by the doctor himself.

I prove it thus, because nothing is more common than to see persons of all states and conditions dissemble their religion, when there are strong motives of interest or fear to induce them to it, and a sure mark of their dissimulation is their changing their religion, as soon as the occasion of their fear is removed, or their interest changes. This is so undeniable a truth, that there are thousands of examples of it. But that a learned archbishop, and primate of a national church, whom we must suppose to have for many years, nay, during his whole life, sincerely believed and professed without dissimulation the Catholic faith, that such a one, I say, should on a sudden change his former sentiments, and pass over to another religion, nay, become an eminent apostle of it, without any apparent motive of hope or fear to induce him to such a change, is as highly improbable as a thing can possibly be.

Now let us but make the application of this to archbishop Cranmer, and we shall soon see what judgment we ought rationally to make of his sincerity or dissimulation in religion during the life of Henry VIII. That he appeared all that time to be a true and sincere Papist in all points of Catholic faith excepting that of the Pope's supremacy, which was then thrown out of

doors) is beyond all dispute; but the question is whether he was sincere in the other points? and there appears the strongest presumption against it, viz. his sudden and entire change immediately upon king Henry's death, which renders it more than merely probable, that he had 'till then conformed. not upon a conviction of conscience that the religion he then professed and practised was the true one, but upon other considerations, which he thought deserved very well a few years dissimulation: and indeed he had the strongest human motives possible to draw a man into that weakness; for he was in possession of the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the nation, and highest favour of his prince, which men of this world are always unwilling to part with, and they could not possibly be secured without his conforming in all things to the religion of his prince. Nay he had no other prospect before him than that of utter ruin and certain death, unless he took that course.—Which shews plainly, (that whatever religion he was of) he had two powerful motives to counterfeit the Papist during the king's life, to wit, interest and safety; and though this alone be not a full proof of his dissimulation, yet being joined with the other circumstances of his appearing a barefaced Protestant, as soon as these motives ceased by the king's death, and turning, immediately after it, the protector's chief tool in pushing on the pretended reformation, amounts to a full evidence against him, and leaves no room to doubt but that this sudden change was only a throwing off the mask as soon as he could do it safely; that what he had professed publicly when Henry was dead, he had believed, but dissembled, whilst he was alive, and so had played the notorious hypocrite for many years together.

But let us hear Cranmer himself give testimony for the truth, part 1. l. 2. p. 128. where speaking of the oath of obedience he was to take to the Pope at his consecration, he expressed a scruple to do it; and gave this reason for it, 'because (said he) the obligation which that oath would bring upon me, would bind me up from doing my duty both to God, the king, and the church:' and at his trial he answered Brooks, that 'the bishops of Rome not only set up pretensions to the power of princes, but they had also made laws contrary to those made by God: instancing in the worship of the unknown tongue, and the denying the chalice to the people; &c.' Now this was equivalently the very same he had said before, to wit, that his oath would bind him up from his duty to God. He therefore believed even then, that is, even when he was just entering upon his bishopric, that the church of Rome held and taught many things contrary to the law of God; as worshipping in an unknown tongue, and taking away the cup from the laity; yet he himself practised afterwards all these things for above thirteen years together, though he believed them to be contrary to the law of God. And was he not then a hypocrite, and dissembler of his religion.

Now let us see what Dr. Burnet writes of him just before he was nominated archbishop: he tells us, that when the king sent for Dr. Cranmer to be bishop, he was then negotiating this business (the divorce) among the learned men of Germany, and lived there with great familiarity with the Lutherans, particularly with Osiander, whose niece he there married.' part 1. p. 92 and 123. Nay, that he had been addicted to Luther's doctrine before he went into Germany, when he was doctor of the university of Cambridge. For speaking of the difficulty the king, though ever so arbitrary, met with from that university, before he could get its subscription to the unlawfulness of his first marriage, he writes thus: 'the most reasonable account I can give of it is, that at this time there were many in the universities, particularly at Cambridge, who were addicted to Luther's doctrine, and of these Cranmer was looked upon as the most learned; part 1. p. 62. And what is this but calling him a dissembling Lutheran, only in softer terms?

It remains now only to say something concerning his perjury, which is the last part of my charge against him. Dr. Burnet has furnished me with two unanswerable instances of it. First, his taking a solemn oath of obedience to the Pope, in order to obtain his bulls, which oath he never intended to keep and broke effectually as soon as he had got them. I shall here

transcribe it word for word, as it is set down in Burnet's history, part 1. p. 123. For that which is now tendered to bishops is wholly different from it.

'I N. N. from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the Pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the legality of St. Peter I shall help to maintain and defend against all men. The legate of the apostolical see going and coming I shall honourably treat. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and the Pope, and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in councils, treaty or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers; and if I know any such to be moved or compassed I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolical to my power I shall keep and caused to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors I shall resist and prosecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted* by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell any possessions without the Pope's consent. So God help me and the holy evangelists.' Part 1. p. 123.

This was the oath of fidelity Cranmer took, when he actually designed to separate himself from the Pope's communion, strip him of his spiritual supremacy in England, and bestow it on the king.

But I cannot but here admire Dr. Burnet's admirable skill in apologizing for this barefaced act of perjury, and bringing off his HOLY SAINT and MARTYR by contriving, before he took the oath, 'his making a solemn protestation that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing he was bound to either by his duty to God, the king or his country; and he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these things,' part 1 L. 2. p. 129. But if this will excuse a man from the guilt of perjury, he must be stark mad that ever becomes guilty of it; for with the help of this juggle, let an oath be ever so unlawful or wicked, he need but make a protestation publicly, or in his heart to God that he never intends to keep it, and all is well. Most noble casuistry! To call God solemnly to witness that we will do such or such a thing, and protest with the same breath that we intend to do nothing of it.

If any one asks, whether bishop Cranmer's oath to the Pope obliged him then to act contrary to what he thought his duty to God, his king or country? I answer, no; for an unlawful oath obliges to nothing but repentance; and if he thought the oath tendered to him was an unlawful one he ought to have refused it.

But the truth of the matter is, that Cranmer had not so great a repugnance to an archbishopric, as Dr. Burnet has most ridiculously represented him, since he would rather strain a point of consequence, nay, even purchase it with a perjury, than not to have it.

But he has left us on record another instance of Cranmer's perjury, when, being under sentence of condemnation, he was prevailed upon by the fear of death and hopes of pardon, to abjure Protestantism twice in a solemn manner, and then again to retract his double abjuration; which has left a foul stain upon his memory, even amongst his best friends, in spite of all the fine glosses the doctor, his apologist, has endeavoured to colour it over with. But let us hear him speak himself upon the matter.

'In conclusion, (says he) as St. Peter himself had with curses, denied the Saviour; so he who had resisted, now almost three years, was at last over-

* i. e. hindered.

come; and human infirmity, the fear of death and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to set his hand to a paper renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius; acknowledging the Pope's supremacy, the corporal presence in the Eucharist Purgatory, prayers for departed souls, the invocation of saints. To which was added his being sorry for his former errors, and concluded exhorting all that had been deceived by his example or doctrine, to the unity of the church, and protesting that he had signed it willingly only for the discharge of his conscience.' part 2. L. 2. p. 333.—'When the second order was sent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his subscription, and then to write the whole over again, which he also did; all this time being under some small hopes of life.' *Ibid.* p. 334.

It seems then that some very small hopes of life, sufficed to make this holy saint and martyr persist in his perjury and dissimulation. But (to make amends for it) when there was not the least glimpse of hope left, and dissimbling could render him no farther service, Dr. Burnet assures us he was most heartily sorry for what he had done; insomuch 'that when he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindling, he stretched forth his right hand to the flame, never moving it 'till it was burnt away; which was consumed before the fire reached his body, sometimes saying, that unworthy hand.' *Ibid.* p. 336.

This story is pretty indeed, but somewhat savouring a romance; nor have I faith enough to believe that a criminal, tied fast to the stake in order to be burnt alive, has so much liberty of his hands allowed him, as to be able to stretch them so far forward from his body, that the flames shall consume the one without touching the other.

But let that be as it will, our noble historian, to shew the innocence of this holy martyr, is likewise pleased to tell us (but his word is not gospel) that when his body was quite consumed, his heart was found entire among the ashes; whence he concludes 'that his heart had continued true though his hand had erred; and that if this had happened in our church we should have made a miracle of it.' *Ibid.* Very right, we should so without all dispute. Nay, the doctor needs go no farther than my ownself, for I will maintain it against any man of common sense, that it either was a miracle, if it truly happened, or is a mere tale of a tub, invented by some historian of as mean a reputation for his veracity as the doctor himself, and since he declares that Protestants will not own it to be a miracle. I conclude against him, that it is a most impudent falsehood, because if it was no miracle, it had no supernatural cause: and I desire the doctor to let me know, what natural cause can hinder the same fire, that has consumed the whole body to ashes; from consuming the heart? or whether an effect can be produced without any cause, either natural or supernatural, for it?

But the doctor's concluding from it, that Cranmer's heart had continued true, though the hand had erred, is a piece of nonsense, unpardonable in a divine. For is it the heart or hand that is criminal in the sight of God?—Surely the heart: and therefore if either of the two were to be spared by the fire, the hand, as being the less criminal, deserved that favour preferably to the heart.

I add, that unless Dr. Burnet himself intended to have it regarded as a miracle or divine testimony of Cranmer's innocence, he is the merest trifler, that ever put pen to paper; for if that was not his end, how could he possibly conclude from it, that his heart was innocent? So that it is a manifest blunder to draw this conclusion from it, and yet deny it to be a miracle; and the plain truth of the matter is, that it is a mere old wife's story.

I now leave the reader to judge, from the facts I have clearly proved in this Supplement against archbishop Cranmer, whether I have any ways wronged him in the character given of him? Art. 3. I think I may safely say, no reasonable man will do me that in justice.

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